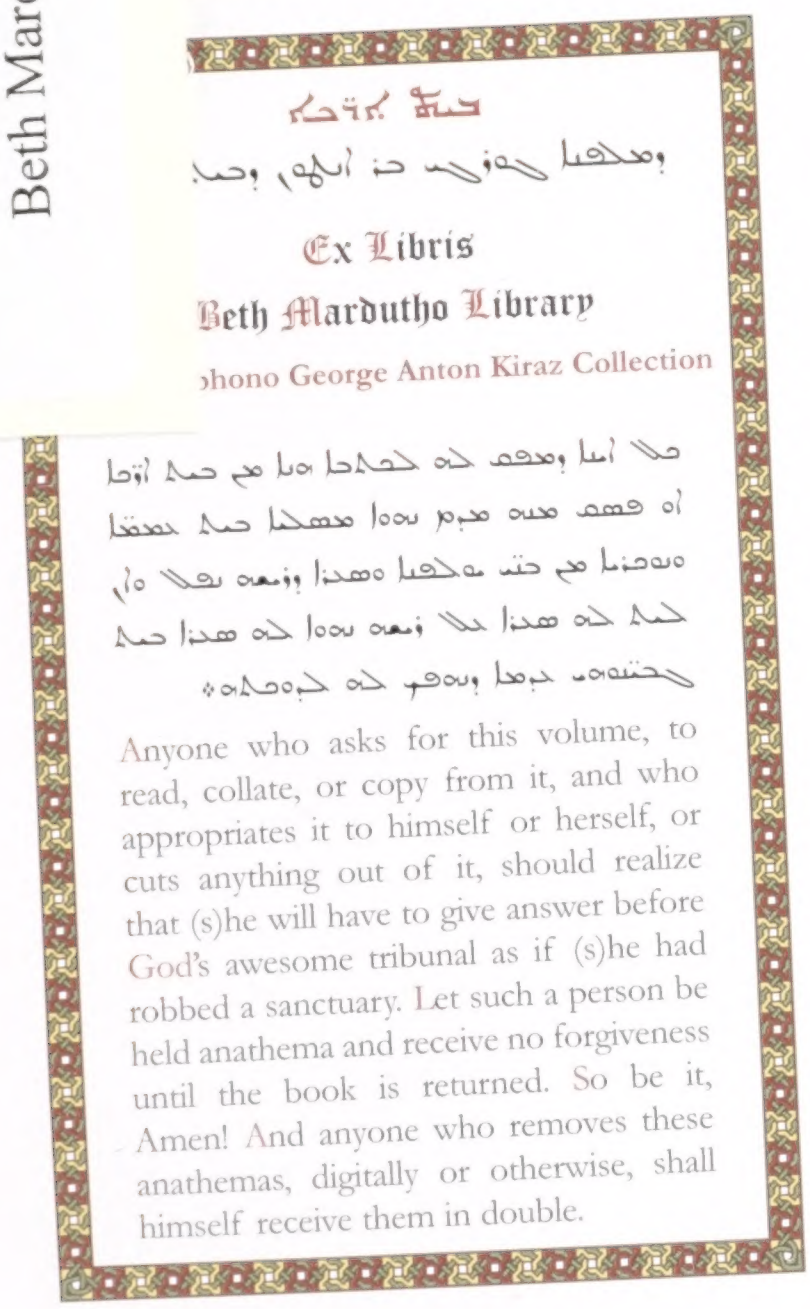
A PERIOD OF JURISDICTIONAL CONFLICT IN THE SURIANI CHURCH OF INDIA (1800-1838)

JAMES ABRAHAM PULIURUMPIL

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Pala
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James Abraham Puliurumpil

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	- Acta Apostolicae Sedis
ACO	- Archivum Sacrae Congregationis Pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus
Acta CP	- *Acta Congregationis Particularis super rebus Sinarum et Indiarum*
Acta	- *Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*
AGOCD	- Archivum Generale Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum
AHEI	- Arquivo Historico do Estado da India
AHSI	- Archivio Historico Societatis Iesu
AHU	- Arquivo Historico Ultramarino
ANL	- *Archivio delle Nunziature di Lisbona*
AOCD	- Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum
APF	- Archivum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide
ARSI	- Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
art.	- articulus (article)
ASV	- Archivum Secretum Vaticanum
BAV	- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BIH. S.I.	- Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu
BNVER	- Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emmanuele, Roma
BPP	- *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum in Ecclesiis Africae, Asiae, Atque Oceaniae*
BSR	- Biblioteca del Senato, Roma
CAEFT	- Central Archives of East Fort, Trivandrum
cap.	- capitolo
CCEO	- *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium*
CIC	- *Codex Iuris Canonici*
CP	- *Congregazioni Particolari*
CU SC	- *Collegio Urbano, Scritture non riferite*
DAB	- Department of Archives, Bombay

DACL	- Dictionnaire d' Archéologie Chrétienne de Liturgie
DHGE	- Dictionnaire d' Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques
DSR	- Dizionario Storico Religioso
DTC	- Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique
f., ff.	- folium, folii
fasc., Fasc.	- fasicle
IR	- *Institutos Religiosos*
LTK	- Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche
ms.	- manuscript
NCE	- New Catholic Encyclopaedia
no., No.	- number
NP	- *Nunziatura di Portogallo*
NZM	- Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft
OCA	- Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	- Orientalia Christiana Periodica
p, pp	- page, pages
PIO	- Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome
PUG	- Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana
q.	- quaestio (question)
r	- recto (front page)
RCI	- *Relação das Caixas da India*
RMI	- Relação dos Maços da India
SC IO	- *Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Indie Orientali*
SC IOC	- *Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Indie Orientali et Cina*
SOCG	- *Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali*
SOCP	- *Scritture Originali della Congregazione Particolare dell' Indie e Cina*
Tom.	- Tomus
trans.	- translated
TT	- Torre di Tombo
v	- verso (back page)
vol., vols.	- volume, volumes
ZMR	- Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft

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INTRODUCTION

1. Scope

This study is an humble attempt to bring to light the history of the Suriani Church of India in the period between 1800-1838, making use of the original sources. A thorough study of the documents proves that it is a period characterized by disputes and conflicts between the two jurisdictions of Padroado and Propaganda, which were then ruling the faithful of this Church. As the English power was establishing its political dominance in India, the demands of the Portuguese for an existence in India--*a fortiori*, of their demand for a tutelage of the Catholic Church, based on the old *jus patronatus*--was anachronistic and unjust. Against the insuffcient Padroado jurisdiction, which could not provide for the spiritual needs of the faithful, Rome could present only an inefficient Propaganda rule in the persons of the Carmelite prelates. The Church of the Mar Thoma Christians experienced in this period almost passivity, except for the tumults which occurred at the beginning and at the end of our period.

As the history of the Suriani Church of India until this period has already been studied or is now under study, and no study has ever been on this period, this research has a unique scope. Although the concentration has been on the ecclesiastical history, a brief look at the secular history of this period is necessary since at this time the English power, which was then advancing in India and which later played a great part in deciding the destiny of Indian history, gained foot in Kerala which affected the Church's life as well.

2. Sources

The original sources, namely the written communications between the Carmelite missionaries in Kerala and the Congregation of Propaganda Fide at Rome, the various reports about the missions presented by the apostolic vicars of Malabar and Mogol, the reports of the General and Particular Assemblies of Propaganda regarding the Malabar Church, the letters of the faithful, the letters of the administrator of the Chaldean patriarchate of Babylonia and the letters of the missionaries to their superiors and co-religious were consulted for this work. Most of the documents used for this study were from the Propaganda Fide Archives; a few from Vatican and Carmelite Archives. Scanty references are found also in the Jesuit and Oriental Congregation Archives. Some manuscripts from the Vatican and the National Central Library of Rome were also of great help. The discussions carried on in the House of Commons of the British parliament were taken from the collections of 'the series of Parliamentary Debates' kept in the Senate Library in Rome.

A few weeks of research in the Archives of *Torre di Tombo* and *Ultra Marino* in Lisbon provided documents regarding the state of the Portuguese Padroado in the first decades of the nineteenth century in India. The documents in the *Arquivo Historico do Estado da India* in Goa treat mainly the political and economic history of Portuguese India, especially of Goa. However, some documents regarding the advance of the English and the decline of the Portuguese power in India, with their effects upon the ecclesiastical circle were of great use for our work. There is a great deal of material on Malabar in the State Archives of Bombay, but more about secular events. Some manuscripts, mostly in Malayalam and Tamil, in the State Archives of Thiruvananthapuram provided much information on Kerala of our period.

3. Methodology

An analytical exposition of the themes and events in chronological order, is followed throughout to avoid confusion and complication. Varying interpretations of the same event by different persons in different languages, missionaries' contrasting reports of the state of affairs to their respective superiors, different accounts of controversial issues by opposing persons, inaccurate report of the statistics, etc., necessitated an accurate scrutiny of the original documents in the various languages kept in the above mentioned archives. With the view of a careful study and thorough consultation, most of the documents were made available through microfilms, photos, photocopying or by directly hand-copying the manuscripts.

The complex nature and the contrary reports of some events made it very difficult to find a continuity of events and a clearing up of the facts. The opposing

views and self-justfying arguments with regard to controversial issues by persons of diverse groups made it necessary to follow the method of convergence of sources. The personal interests, conflicting ideals, and enmity to the opposing group mingled with the facts sometimes rendered an impartial consideration of the events difficult.

This work has its limits, especially with regard to the lack of time to study each document with clear observation, mature scrutiny and precious patience. Many of the handwritten documents were not clear, sometimes were ruined, and thereby rendered incapable of very accurate study. Although all the possible and accessible documents of our period in the various sections of the Roman archives were subjected to research, there may have been other unseen ones in other sections or under different titles in the same section, especially in the archives which are of a private character.

4. Division

The work is divided into six chapters. The first chapter, in introducing the theme, deals with the state of the Malabar Church in the early years of the nineteenth century with emphasis on the Pandari schism, its how and why, the consequent confusions in the Malabar Church and the post-schism period. The Suriani Catholic Church witnessed, within this period of 38 years, a series of apostolic vicars and a very few missionaries. Thus the second chapter delineates who and what these persons were. In addition, we see in this chapter the leaders of the Church on the Padroado side and the reason for the conflicts between the two jurisdictions of Padroado and Propaganda. That Propaganda in its policy to patronize the Suriani Catholics against the unjust demands of Padroado and the just demands of the native faithful could not satisfy the aspirations of the Suriani Catholics, but could lead them through the first four decades of the nineteenth century, we see in the third chapter. In the fourth chapter we note the Church-State relationshp existing in Malabar, especially after the English intervention there. The long and tough Roman struggle to liberate the Church in India from the Portuguese clutches, is set forth in the fifth chapter. With the brief *Multa praeclare* Rome limited the *jus patronatus* and reduced the privileges already granted to the Portuguese kings by suppressing the Padroado dioceses in India, except that of Goa. As a result all the Suriani Catholics were brought again under one head, under the same Carmelite apostolic vicar, throwing in air their dream of self-government. The last and the sixth chapter concludes with our comments, clarifications, observations and evaluations. In the Appendix, some maps are given, two lists of the parishes, the declaration between the English Company and Msgr. Raimond, the Apostolic Vicar of Malabar, English Resident Macaulay's letter to Msgr. Raimond and the brief *Multa praeclare*, and finally an index.

CHAPTER 1

Confusions In The Initial Years

The aspirations of the Mar Thoma Christians for an autonomy of rule, strengthened by their discontentment towards the Propaganda-represented Carmelite leadership, by the absence of a prelate in the Padroado see of Kodungalloor [Cranganore][1], by the pretext of the 'Baghdad-returned' illegitimate bishop Mar Abraham Pandari to assume the power of the ordinary over the Church of the Suriani[2] Catholics, gave birth to the so-called Pandari schism in the last year of the eighteenth century. Thereby in the first years of the nineteenth century subsequent confusions arose among the faithful with regard to their obedience to either of the two jurisdictions of Padroado and Propaganda.

1 The ancient see of the Mar Thoma Christians, an old port-city was the capital of the *Kulasekhara* empire, and where the Apostle Thomas is believed to have landed. This city is now called Kodungalloor (according to the new *Kerala Gazette No. 677*) which was formerly known as Cranganore. Therefore, we hereafter use the name Kodungalloor. Before 1608 this see was called Angamaly, and was the residence of the Chaldean bishops. In the year 1600 when the see of the Syrians was given to the Portuguese Padroado, this see was reduced to a diocese (which was formerly an archdiocese), but in the year 1608 the see was restored as an archdiocese, but the *cathedra* was changed from Angamaly to Kodungalloor ('for the sake of security'). See ASV, *Sec. Brev. 612*, ff. 149r-150r; *Bullarium Romanum*, 558-559. For details see DHGE, *Cranganore*, 1013-1014.

2 The word *Suriani* is a Malayalam (the language of the land) derivative of the English word 'Syrian' (not designating the 'inhabitants of present day Syria' (*Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 1024), but those who followed the Syriac tradition and the Syriac language in the liturgy, not only those in ancient Syria, Persia or Mesopotamia (see DTC, *Syrienne (Eglise)*, 3018; LTK, *Syrische Kirchen*, 1255), but also those in India or elsewhere); the Italian word 'soriani' or 'siri', the French word 'syrien' or the German word 'syrisch'. In India, especially in Malabar (the present day Kerala) in the native language Malayalam the Christians were/ are called *Suriani Catholikar* [Catholics] who followed the Syriac tradition but became much adapted to the Indian culture assimilating the style of the land with its pluralistic Hindu milieu, thereby assuming another identity. The term commonly used officially in the ecclesiastical circle is 'Syro-Malabar Church'. For the insufficiency of this anachronistic word and the appropriateness of the word *Suriani* see VARICATT, *Suriani Church of India*, 536-538).

The *Suriani* Catholics are known in many ways: St. Thomas Christians, *Mar Thoma* Christians, Christians of St. Thomas, Indo-Chaldeans, Indian Syrians, Oriental Catholics, Christians of Malabar, Chaldeans of Malabar, Syro-Chaldeans. The term *Mar Thoma Christianikal* [Christians] is very often used popularly to

1.1. A swaying unity

Unlike the last decade of the eighteenth century, which for the Suriani Catholics of Malabar[3]—the present day Kerala[4]—was a period of unity, stability and satisfaction

designate the *Suriani* Catholics (although all the Christian communities in India other than Latin can have this title) tracing their origin to the Apostle Thomas ([The Syriac word *mar* means 'Lord'] = 'The Christians of St. Thomas'). The word *surianikar or sorianikar* [the plural of *suriani*] is also often used. See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 187v. In the past years *Suriani* Catholics were also known as *Nazarani mappulamar*. See WICKI, *Die "Historia do Malavar" des P. Diogo*, 95. (P. Diogo Goncalves in *Historia do Malavar* wrote: "*Nazarani mappulamar*, huma das principais e honoradas castas do Malavar"). (*Nazarani* or *Nazaranikal* means followers of Jesus the Nazarene or Christians, and *mappulamar* or *mappulas* means noble persons or royal sons = Noble Christians).

3 The word *Malabar* comes from the two words *mala* (a Dravidian word meaning 'hill' or 'mountain') and *bar* (the Persian word for 'country' or the Arabic word *barr* which means 'continent' or 'land') and denotes the 'land of hills' or 'country of mountains'. This term was in use even from the sixth century A.D.. Other than Malabar, *Malibar, Manibar, Mulibar and Munibar* were used by the Arab writers to describe this land. *Malanadu, Malayalam or Malavaram* are other derivative forms (SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 9-10). James Hough is of opinion that the origin of the word *Malabar* may be from the word '*Mulayalum*' which signifies the 'skirting at the bottom of the hills'. These hills were called by the natives *Sukhien*, by the Europeans *the Ghauts* (HOUGH, *History of Christianity*, 102).

Malabar is the land or the narrow strip of land between the Arabian sea and the Western Ghats. For a good description of the characteristics of the old Malabar land, see PODIPARA, *Syro-Malabarians*, 241-256; BNVER, *Santa Maria della Scala 1*, ff. 91v-94r (This manuscript is a description of Malabar titled *Relacion topographique, politique, et religieuse de la Côte Malabare par le P. Paulin de S. Barthelomie Carm. Dechause Missionaire Apostolique de la meme Côte, L'année 1789*, ff. 88r-169v). For the life style of the people and their religious ceremonies see WICKI, *Die "Historia do Malavar" des P. Diogo*, 73-101. Regarding the Christianization of Malabar see DACL, *Malabar*, 1260-1277.

4 The word *Kerala* is used for the coastal belt lying between the Western Ghats and the Arabian sea in peninsular India found in Sanskrit literature even from very ancient times. The words *Kerala* and *Chera* have been used as almost synonymous by all early writers. Some writers say that *Kerala* is derived from the word *Kera* (coconut) which is one of the characteristic products of the west coast (SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 9). Dr. Gundert observes that the word *Keram* is the Canarese pronunciation of the word *Cheram* and he describes *Keralam* as *Cheram*, the country between Gokarnam and Cumari. The Chera kingdom was originally a part of the Tamil country. Malayalam, the language of Kerala, evolved from the Tamil language. The Chera kingdom carried on a prosperous trade with the West, especially in spices which contributed to its wealth and prosperity. The history of the early Cheras of the Sangam Age was followed by a 'long historical night'. Very little is known about the history of Cheras till the end of the eighth century A.D.. So by about 800 A.D. Cheras again established supremacy in Kerala; the second Chera empire with its capital at Thiruvanchikulam or Mahodayapuram (modern Cranganore [Kodungallor]). See SREEDHARA MENON, *Indian History*, 169.

The word *Charal* in Tamil means the declivity of a hill or a mountain slope and according to some writers the word may have become corrupted in course of time into *Cheral*, giving its name to the Kerala or Chera country. This theory emphasizes the mountainous character of Kerala as the basis of the origin of its name (SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 10). There is also the view that the word 'Keralam' (*Cheralam)* is made of the two words *cher* (sand) and *alam* (region) and that it literally means, the slushy land (KOMATTIL, *Ancient Kerala*, 7). When the Portuguese came to Malabar, they began to call the

under the leadership of Fr. Thomas Paremmakkal[5], the early years of the nineteenth century were of disunity, digression, unsteadiness of governance and precariousness in ecclesiastical obedience. Such instability of governance, unrest and insecurity in respect to obedience were at rule in the Church of the Mar Thoma Christians in the many and varied phases of her history since the rupture in the this community[6]. Bereft of one head, this community under different jurisdictional heads—though not contradictory, but conflicting—was necessitated by the circumstances which left the faithful in a dilemma and the Church in chaos, causing either transitions or alterations both superficially and substantially. Although the beginning years were followed by a long 'historical night' leaving many things still in darkness, assuming the customs and practices of the land, assimilating the Indian culture and retaining its aristocratic, *brahmanic* prestige and position, the Church of the Suriani Christians got root and took shape in the soil of Malabar. Their contacts first with the Persian or Assyrian Church[7] (now represented by the Chaldean [Catholic] and the Assyrian [non-Catholic] Churches) and

mountainous region, the abode of St. Thomas Christians, *Serra* or *Serra of Malabar*. See PERUMTHOTTAM, *Period of Decline*, 40. In the Spanish documents the corresponding word is *Sierra*, which means mountain range (cadena de montanas, see *Collins Spanish Dictionary*, 261).

5 In December 1786 Paremmakkal took charge of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor (Cranganore) as the administrator. See APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 458v; NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 56. Fr. Thomas Paremmakkal was born on September 10, 1736, at Kadanad near Pala (Palai). His parents were Kuruvila and Anna. After the primary schooling he joined the seminary at Alangatt. At the age of 25 in the year 1761 he was ordained priest. After eight years of ministry in different parishes he was appointed vicar in his own parish, Kadanad. See MATHOTHU, *Paremmakkal Thomakathanar*, 3-6.

6 It was with the coming of the Portuguese missionaries that the one community of Mar Thoma Christians happened to be divided. The following are the present existing sections (both Catholic and non-Catholic) in the same family: Syro-Malankara Church, Syro-Malabar Church, (Jacobite) Syrian Orthodox Church, Malankara Orthodox or Indian Orthodox Church, Marthomite Church or Reformed Church, Syrian Anglicans or Anglo-Syrian Christians Anjoorians and Nestorians. For details see CHEDIATH, *Churches in Kerala*; INCHAKALODY, *Christian Churches*; ROBERSON, *Eastern Christian Churches*, 4.

7 The relations of the Malabar Church with the Persian Church is still a matter of diligent study and vehement research. When and how this relation began is a matter of dispute among historians. That there were existing relations between the two is a fact beyond doubt. Cardinal Tisserant says that during the persecution of the Sassanide emperor Sapor II, the Persian Christians arrived in India (TISSERANT, *Eastern Christianity*, 8). He bases the division among the Syrian Catholics as *Nordists* and *Suddists* on this fact: the Nordists are the descendants of the converts of St.Thomas, whereas the Suddists go back to the Syrian emigrants. Antonio de Gouvea, basing his opinion on a document (written in Malayalam and Syriac[which is now preserved in the university Library of Leiden]) expounds that there is also a local tradition which says that a group of Christians arrived in Malabar to whom might be attributed the division of Syrians into Nordists and Suddists. (See LAND, *Anecdota Syriaca*, 24-30. Text and translation is reproduced in GIAMIL, *Genuinae Relationes* 552-564).

Thus it is of opinion that the Christians who were evangelized by St. Thomas the Apostle towards the end of the second century came into close relation with Edessa (modern Urfa in Turkey) and thus the Indian Christianity got connected with the see of Selucia-Ctesiphon, the twin cities facing each other on the bank

then with the Latin Church (1599-1898)[8], ecclesiastically as well as politically gave their Church another face.

The Church of the Suriani Christians under the Latin rule beginning with the Portuguese Padroado[9], not only began to lose its Oriental nature because of the forced anomalous Latinization but also was divided into different groups subjected to different ecclesiastical heads. This community had to undergo different phases of Padroado[10] and Propaganda[11] jurisdictions sometimes under the former alone or under the latter alone and at other times under both. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the see of

of the river Tigris. Dvornik is of the opinion that Mar Papa Bar Aggai, the first bishop of Selucia-Ctesiphon was the pioneer in the ecclesiastical organization of the Persian Empire (See DVORNIK, *National Churches*, 8). They constituted the Metropolitan See of the Great Metropolitan of the East, i.e. of the Persian Empire (See CHABOT, *Synodicon Orientale*, 682) by the end of the fifth century. There were different Churches which flourished in Edessa and in Selucia-Ctesiphon. It is of opinion that the Malabar Christians had relations first with the Church of Persia proper and received bishops from there. The Church of Persia, glorying in its origin from the Apostle Thomas, showed resistance to the authority of Selucian Patriarch on that basis. But in the eighth-ninth centuries peace was established between these Churches. See RAULIN, *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae*, 433.

8 Indian Christians' first contact with the Latin Church was through the Portuguese missionaries. A great change occurred in the history of the Malabar Church with the arrival of the Portuguese. Though the Portuguese were at first very cordial to the Malabar Christians and to the Chaldean bishops, gradually it turned to accusations on the part of the Portuguese missionaries against the customs and practices of the Syrian Christians of Malabar. (One letter of Mar Jacob, the Chaldean bishop of the Malabar Christians shows this cordial relation. This letter is kept in BAV, *Codex Vaticano, Fondo Siriaco 204*, ff. 154v-160. Its edition with Latin translation is given in ASSEMANUS, *Biblioteca Orientalis*, 589-599. English version is in SCHURHAMMER, *Orientalia*, 333-337). The Portuguese began to introduce the Roman systems in the liturgy or to Latinize the Syro-Oriental liturgy. The Diamper (Udayamperoor) Synod was its climax. (The Synod of Diamper, whether valid or not, is a matter of discussion among scholars. Antao Gregorio Magno (*De Synodi Diamperitane Natura atque Decretis*, Goa 1952) defends the validity, while Jonas Thaliath (*Synod of Diamper*) and Andrews Thazath (*Juridical Sources of the Malabar Church*, Kottayam 1987) refute the validity.

9 Francis Ros, sj, became the first Latin prelate to rule over the Malabar Christians in 1599. See NAZARETH, *Mitras I*, 80-81.

10 After Ros, Stephen Britto (1624-1641) and Francis Garcia (1641-1659) ruled the Syrians of Malabar. After the death of Garcia in 1659 till 1704 there was no Padroado prelate in Malabar. In 1704 John Ribeiro took charge of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor and he died in 1716 and was succeeded by Antony Pimentel, who governed the church till 1752. Following his death, the last Jesuit archbishop of Kodungalloor, Salvador dos Reis ruled the see till his death on April 7, 1776. See DHGE, *Cranganore*, 1013.

11 In 1659 (with the appointment of Sebastiani (APF, *SOCG 234*, ff. 3r-4r, 504r) Propaganda rule began in Malabar. From 1659 till 1704 Syrian Catholics were under Propaganda alone because of the absence of bishops under the Padroado. When Angelus Francis renounced the post as apostolic vicar in 1704, Syrian Catholics came under Padroado. For details of the double jurisdictions see PALLIPURATHUKUNNEL, *Double Regime*. From 1712 onwards the Carmelite apostolic vicars ruled the Suriani Catholics.

Kodungalloor was left vacant[12]. Although Mar Joseph Cariattil was appointed as the archbishop of Kodungalloor in 1786, he was not fortunate enough to fulfill the long-cherished desire of the Christians of Malabar due to his sudden death in Goa[13]. Although they could not soon thereafter have an archbishop in Kodungalloor, all the Syrian Catholics would come together under the leadership of Fr. Thomas Paremmakkal, who began the administration of the archdiocese in December 1786 as the governor[14] of Kodungalloor who ruled the faithful for thirteen years[15].

1.2. The Pandari schism

With the death of Thomas Paremmakkal on March 20, 1799[16], the Church of the Suriani Catholics had to witness a series of events resulting in unrest and confusion

(12) With the death of the last Jesuit archbishop in Malabar, Salvador dos Reis on April 7, 1776, the archdiocese of Kodungalloor was left vacant. See NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 48-49.

The delegation of Joseph Cariattil and Thomas Paremmakkal had as one of their intentions to get a bishop in the see of Kodungalloor. On May 7, 1778, *Malpan* Joseph Cariattil and *Kathanar Thomas Paremmakkal* began the journey to Europe. It is interesting to know that they walked from Alangatt to Chinnapatanam (near Madras) carrying with them all their luggage, a journey of almost four months. On October 14, 1778, they embarked from Madras and on July 18, 1779, arrived at Lisbon. On February 3, 1780, they arrived at Rome and in the same year in June returned to Lisbon. In the year 1785, on April 20, they made their return trip to India. On May 1, 1786, they arrived at Goa and stayed there till September. (Why they went to Goa, instead of getting down to the Malabar coast is a matter of study and dispute among historians). For the details of their journey see PAREMMAKKAL, *Varthamanapusthakam*, 139-141. In their petition to Queen Maria Francesca of Portugal they prayed for the nomination of an upright and God-fearing Portuguese who was not a member of any religious order. But the queen nominated Cariattil archbishop, possibly as a strategic move, foreseeing the eventual merging of all the Syrian Christians of Malabar under Cariattil, thereby a victory of Padroado and a consequential winding up of the Propaganda jurisdiction in Malabar. See VADAKKEKARA, *Cariattil-Paremmakkal*, 20.

(13) Mar Joseph Cariattil was consecrated and appointed for the see of Kodungalloor by Pope Pius VI in 1782 (NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 50) and he reached Goa on May 1, 1786. He died on September 9, 1786 at the age of 44. See APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 457v. For the details of the death of Mar Cariattil see PAYNGOT, *Homage to Mar Cariattil*, Rome 42-45. (Herein we see many interesting and contradictory views regarding his death).

(14) The governor of the archdiocese was known by many names: ecclesiastical governor, vicar general, governor of the archdiocese, ecclesiastical administrator and *governador* or *gubernador*. They were most often called *governador* by the faithful. It is probably one of the many Portuguese words still in use in Malayalam.

(15) His leadership was criticized negatively by some historians. Nazareth basing on a letter of the bishop of Kochi to the archbishop of Goa on October 29, 1792, writes: "Paremmakkal is intriguing against the Padroado and the archbishop in vengeance for the failure to appoint him as the archbishop of Kodungalloor". He added that he was a proud and vain man and did not have the necessary characters and qualities to be appointed the archbishop of Kodungalloor. See NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 56-57.

(16) APF, *Acta 168*, f. 193v; APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 339r (letter of Fr. Valentine to the Congregation on December 8, 1799 [from Varapuzha]).

with regard to ecclesiastical obedience. Soon after Paremmakkal's death, Fr. Abraham Kattakkayam [Kattakayathil] was elected the administrator of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor by the canonical chapter comprised of 12 *kathanars*[17] as successor to Paremmakkal. The appointment of Abraham *kathanar* as the administrator of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor was not according to the will and desire of the late administrator Paremmakkal, as he had not authorized the appointment of anyone in his post; he although had no authority for the same. For the faithful the election of Abraham *Kathanar* was apparently quite regular and normal[18] and, therefore, many churches or parishes followed the new administration, although it was illegal and irregular in the eyes of the Church authorities. Paul Pandari, who was ordained bishop by the administrator of the Chaldean patriarch and who arrived some months back in Malabar, exploited the time by adhering to the new administrator and appearing to the faithful as the rightful bishop sent for them by the Chaldean patriarch. Abraham *kathanar* and Paul Pandari always had the support of Mathu Tharakan, the layman prominent in the Malabar Church. A schism was caused, as Mar Paul Pandari and Abraham *kathanar* were illegal Church heads and unrecognized by Church authority, neither by the apostolic vicar of Malabar, the representative of Propaganda jurisdiction, nor by the archbishop of Goa or by the bishop of Kochi (Cochin)[19], the representatives of Padroado jurisdiction[20].

17 A priest in Malabar was generally called *kathanar* in Malayalam. (See for example APF, *SOCG* 907, f. 359r). *Kathanar*, a derivative of *karthanar*, *karthavu* or *karthrukaran*, etymologically means 'one who does his duty' or 'one who is responsible for the others', 'one who is in charge of others'. So it may be a Malayalam word of a Sanskrit origin. The Sanskrit root *Kr* means 'to hurt', 'to kill', 'to do' or 'to sacrifice'. *Kartr* in Sanskrit means 'one who does' or 'one who performs'. Thus, as Jonas Thaliath holds, from the Sanskrit words *Kartr* or *Kartta* came the Dravidian or Malayalam form *Kattan* , which later on developed into *Kattanar* or *Kathanar* with the Dravidian or Malayalam honorific plural suffix *ar*. (See THALIATH, *Synod of Diamper*, 20-21). Sometimes the European missionaries, especially in Portuguese documents, have spelled this word as *kassanar* or *caçanar*. Some express doubt whether this word is from the Arabic word (al) *Qessis* or from its Syriac derivation *Qass* of *Qashisha* . A more probable derivation is from *Kahna*. British Museum, *Add. MS.* 9853, f. 91 witnesses *Os sacerdotes destes Xpãos se chamão Caçanares vocabulo Caldeo corrupto de Cahanan, id est sacerdos. Os que não são de missa se chamão Chamaxa, palavra caldea, que quer diser ministro ou illuminador* (quoted in THALIATH, *Synod of Diamper*, 20). Now this use is almost extinct.

18 In/according to the tradition of the Church of Malabar such an election (i.e., the procedure followed) by the 12 canonical chapters was valid; but after the Synod of Diamper the right to the appointment to the office of administrator unless to the bishop, belonged to the prelate of the neighboring diocese, Kochi (also under Padroado).

19 As the name 'Cochin' is abrogated and the new name 'Kochi' (as in the common parlance) is introduced with the new *Kerala Gazette No. 677*, we hereafter use the name Kochi. For details regarding Kochi see DHGE, *Kochi*, 181-182.

20 It was considered a schism, although of short-duration, and for the faithful a necessity since no other choice and escape, thereby unintentional since it was really a *substractio ab obedientia visibilis capitis Ecclesiae formaliter sumpti, vel a communione Catholicae Ecclesiae* (JUGIE, *Theologia Dogmatica*

1.2.1. The background

Although the schism following the death of Thomas Paremmakkal, did not affect the whole Church in Malabar, i.e., all the parishes, it was the result of a long-cherished desire of the Suriani Catholics of Malabar, who were weary of the European missionaries, to get a native bishop as their prelate. The Syrian Catholic community of Malabar, divided under the two jurisdictions of *Padroado* and *Propaganda*, was dissatisfied. The death of Mar Cariattil aggravated the situation as the people considered that his death put an end to the hope they dreamed of for so long. During the time Thomas Paremmakkal administered Kodungalloor, they had the occasion to come together in order to strengthen themselves by standing together for their cause. As long as Fr. Paremmakkal was the governor there seemed no chance for a schism[21], and only after the death of Thomas Paremmakkal did there originate a chance/ an occasion for schism. But the presence of Mar Paul Pandari in Malabar was the real and proximate cause for the origin of schism in the Malabar Church.

1.2.1.1. The deputation to Baghdad

In November 1796[22] the Christians of Malabar sent four[23] of their faithful as their representatives with the letter[24] of their king Rama Rajah and of their clergy and

Orientalium, 16.) or *Et ideo schismatici dicuntur qui subesse renuunt Summo Pontifici, et qui membris Ecclesiae ei subjectis communicare recusant* (AQUINAS, *Summa Theologica*, 264 [II, IIae, q. 39, art. 1]) or *Qui subiectionem supremae Ecclesiae auctoritati aut communionem cum christifidelibus eidem subiectis detrectatet legitime monitus oboedientiam non praestat, ut schismaticus excommunicatione maiore puniatur* (*CCEO*, Canon 1437, See also *CIC 1983*, Canon 751).

21 If Paremmakkal could have foreseen the possibility of schism, he should have evaded it by all possible means. As a true son of the Holy See he could not admit a schism in the Church, although the desires of the faithful were not fulfilled by the Holy See. It is worth mentioning that, towards the end of his administration, although Mar Pandari was at the stage, no role was given to Mar Pandari by Paremmakkal, although he was a native bishop.

22 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 378. In November the deputation arrived at Baghdad (date not given). In the same November they departed from Malabar (no date given). Some historians say the deputation arrived at Baghdad in October 1797. See HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 84. However, this statement is not documented.

23 The names of these four are: Paul, Paul, Antony, and Joseph of 12 years. Mar John Haruthiun, administrator of the bishopric of Ispahan writes on November 25, 1796, to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide: "Gli portatori delle lettere, o messaggeri da malabaresi sono stati quattro; due si chiamono Paolo, uno Antonio e l'altro Giuseppe piccolo. Questo Giuseppe piccolo di 12 anni d'età è fratello del loro principale Paolo Pandari". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 359v. He continued: "io avendo veduto questo ragazzo di buona India ho insistito appresso da Paolo suo frattello, ed appresso del Monsig. Mar Yohannan, accio lo mandino a Propaganda, alla fine si sono contentati, vedremmo quando sarà possibile lo mandaranno forse con qualche altro giovane caldeo della diocesi di Mosul". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 359v. There are historians

of all the people[25] to the Chaldean patriarch of Mosul[26], Joseph IV[27]. The purpose of their coming was stated very clearly in this letter[28].

The content of this letter was the grievances of the Christians of Malabar and their complaints against the Carmelite missionaries, set out as follows:

> They present a very grave petition against the Latin missionaries i.e., the Carmelite missionaries who work in Malabar, saying that the latter had a detestable behavior and they became a common hatred to the people not only because of their dishonesty but also because of their disregard of the people. And it is because of their work that a Chaldean bishop was drowned and then Mar Kariattil was poisoned to death. They had sent many times many letters to Rome via Portugal with the intention of informing the S. Congregation of their grievances and to have an answer. But all their letters were interceded by the Carmelite missionaries[29]. Once one native who happened to see these letters kept in the house of the missionaries took them and brought them to the Malabar clergy. Then they decided to find a remedy for this and not to obey the Carmelites even though they would become heretics or idolaters. Sixty-two churches selected one priest to make him bishop, declining all obedience to the Latins. The Carmelites then told the government to punish them. And to avoid further molestation they protested of not having any more relation with the Franks who have their superiors in this nation. And therefore the government obliges them to turn to Baghdad to have ministers for their cult and the king himself writes to the patriarch, so also the leaders of the Church in Malabar[30].

who say that in the deputation there were only three young men from Malabar. See HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 84. Is it possible that since one among the four was only 12 years of age, as held by Mar John Haruthiun, he was not being counted among the 'young'.

24 This letter comprises 24 sheets [*foglie malabariche*] (see APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 366v). But its translation was not sent to Propaganda. See the following: "che i caldei del Malabar avevano spedito a Mar Giovanni suddetto quattro mesi, i quali portavano lettere ... comprese in ventiquattro foglie malabariche, delle quali promissero di mandare la traduzione quale pero non è mai giunta". APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 183-183v. Mention of this letter is also seen in APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 373-373v. The first letter was sent in the name of both Catholic and Syrian Orthodox Thomas Christians. The second one was written by the Diwan of the Thiruvithamkoor [Travancore] Rajah, and might have been both a recommendation and request for safe conduct. See HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 84.

25 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 183r; APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 366v.

26 He is also called the patriarch of Ninive or of Babylonia.

27 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 184v. Patriarch Joseph IV was dead already in 1791. See HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 83. Mar John Hormez was the then administrator of the patriarchate. He is indicated in the documents by the names: Mar Hanna (Yohanna, Yohannan) Hormez (Ormez, Hormizd). We hereafter use the name John Hormez.

28 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 183v.

29 This is also seen in the *ponenze* on Caldei of the General Assembly of Propaganda Fide of February 1865, cap. 1, art. 2, # 3: "Dopo aver scritto più volte a Roma senz' averne ricevuta risposta, e ritenendo esser state intercette le lettere dai missionari Carmelitani, finalmente eseguirono il partito preso di rivolgersi ai patriarca cattolico di Babylonia, Monsig. Giuseppe IV ...". ACO, *Poneneze I (Caldei)*, f. 35.

30 APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 183v-184v.

Having arrived at Baghdad[31], the delegation wanted to see the patriarch and to submit the letters to him. Although the deputation[32] was directed to the patriarch and the letters were addressed to him personally[33], as he was already deceased his administrator John Hormez[34] received the delegation and opened the letters[35]. These letters,

31 Mar John Hormez describes how the four messengers from Malabar reached Baghdad: "or essendo questi arrivati a Bassora senza che li scrissero, essi mi scrissero due lettere, a proprio pugno, col mio nome Mar Yohanna che mi dicevano, che avevano lettere per me, e fra pochi giorni erano per venir a trovarmi, ed arrivati qui a dirittura erano venuti a casa mia, e mi consegnarono le suddette lettere che io vedendo la sopra scritta gli dissi che Mar Jusef era a Roma, e che non era Patriarca di Baghdad, essi mi risposero, che erano mandati a Baghdad, ed a quello che avesse la giurisdizione sopra gli caldei di Baghdad. Onde aprirsi e lessi le lettere, e veddi...". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 363r.

32 It is not yet clear how this group was formed, on what grounds and by what criteria. It is also not clear whether was it just to inform the patriarch of their desire and need to get a bishop or also to have their request executed soon; also whether it was so planned one among them, most probably Pandari, that he would be ordained bishop. The group consisted only of laymen.

33 Mar Hormez gives an explanation why the letters were directed not to him, but to the patriarch: "Or[a] essi non sapendo ne il mio nome, ne la mia giurisdizione spirituale in questi parti; dall'altra parte sapendo dagli alunni di Propaganda il nome di Giuseppe IV, patriarca caldeo". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 363r (letter of Mar Hormez to the Congregation on November 21, 1796). That states the reason why the letters from Malabar were directed to the patriarch. By this time the patriarch was dead (already in the year 1791); but not knowing this fact, the letters were directed to the patriarch.

Some say that the Syrians in Malabar got the name of Joseph IV through the Syrian Orthodox clergy who were visiting Malabar. If they were coming from Mardin, they should have known of the Chaldean patriarch of Diarbekir (Diarbekir is distant from Mardin by about 100 kms.). Some of the leaders of the Syrian Catholics of Malabar had timely correspondence with the Chaldeans, or they might have heard about the patriarch through the Carmelite missionaries. See HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 84-85. But the greater probability, as Mar Hormez held, was through the priests who had done their studies at the Propaganda college.

34 Elias XII, who rightfully claimed to be the successor of the original line of the Catholicos-patriarch which can be traced back at least to 498 A.D., ruled from Rabban Hormizd's monastery. He had two nephews whom he ordained bishop-metropolitan at an early age, so that his succession would be secure. The first called Iso'yahb was also 'Guardian of the See' and was to become the next patriarch of the line. Some years later the other nephew also became bishop-metropolitan under the name of John Hormez. Later he replaced Iso'yahb as 'Guardian of the See', thus becoming the official candidate to the patriarchal succession. At the death of Elias XII in 1778, Iso'yahb, convinced of his rights, was enthroned as Elias XIII, for some time showing much sympathy for the union movement in Mosul and neighbourhood but ending by rejecting it altogether until his death. On the contrary, his cousin, John [Yohannan] Hormez, riding on the waves of the union movement, joined the Catholic Church and in 1783 he was fully acknowledged by Pope Pius VI as archbishop (metropolitan) of Mosul and administrator of the patriarchate of Babylon. These latter responsibilities were extended in 1791 to the dioceses thus far depending on the Diarbekir patriarchate. The last holder, Joseph IV resigned in 1781, but died only ten years later in 1791. HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 82-83.

That is why the report of the General Assembly of March 30, 1801, included: Mar Hanna Hormez or Msgr. John of Ormisda, archbishop and administrator of the Chaldean patriarchate of Ninive or Mosul, converted about 20 years ago to the Catholic faith from Nestorianism.... APF, *Acta 168*, f. 183r.

after having exposed the grave disorders in Malabar, requested the patriarch to provide for that nation one bishop, two priests and some clerics. The letter upheld that the whole clergy and people were protesting and, therefore, they should be made quiet and be preserved in the Catholic faith, adhering to the Holy See; also that the heretics, namely the Syrian Jacobites, have promised to come to the Catholic faith; otherwise all have determined to become heretics and idolators rather than depend upon the Latin missionaries[36].

1.2.1.2. Letters to Rome

After having received the delegation from Malabar and sensing the urgency of the situation, Mar John wrote to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on November 25, 1796, describing the situation and the request for help[37]. In his letter he showed no doubt regarding his right of jurisdiction over the Malabar Christians[38]. He informed the Congregation of Propaganda that:

> His predecessors[39] had always exercised such a right over the Chaldeans in Malabar, saying that the letters and other ancient documents show that the patriarch of Elcosca [Alkosh][40], although

35 "...che la soprascritta delle loro lettere era diretta a Mar Giuseppe IV patriarca caldeo. Soggiungeva però, che giunti i quattro mesi a Bassora, scrissero due lettere a Mar Giovanni prevenendolo della loro commissione; ed arrivati in seguito a Baghdad, si indirizarono a lui consegnandogli le lettere. Il prelato recusò sul principio di aprirle, ma sentendo dai mesi, che la commissione era diretta al patriarca di Baghdad; e riflettendo ancora, che Mar Giuseppe IV trovasi in Roma, accettò la deputazione, ed aprì le lettere". APF, *Acta 168*, f. 184v; APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 363r.

36 APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 184v-185r, "... provvedere quelle nazione di un vescovo, mandandole ancora due preti, e più chierici. Avendo ciò, tutto quel clero si protestava che esso e la nazione tutta si sarebbe mantenuta ferma, e costante nella religione cattolica; anzi l'istessi eretici promettevano di tornare all'obbedienza della S. Sede Romana. Ma in caso diverso erano tutti risoluti a farsi eretici, ed anche idolatri, non volendo in alcun modo più dependere dai missionari latini".

37 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 183r. Mar Hormez sent on November 25, 1796, a long letter to Propaganda. Towards the end of the letter he wrote: "Non posso passar sotto silenzio, come scritta la presente arrivarono quattro mesi da Malabar per via di Bassora da me con lettera del loro re o principe gentile Ram Rajah, e del loro clero e popolo che uniti assieme dopo gli loro moltissimi lamenti contro gli padri missionari, in tutti gli conti mi pregano, e mi scongiurano di provvedergli di vescovo, e di mandargli due preti o vari chierici per un abozzo estratto delle loro lettere gliele mando, accio la S. Congregazione veda, come vanno gli affari delle missioni. Ora non ebbi tempo per tradurre il suddetto estrato in italiano con altri corrieri gliene mandero anche la traduzione di questo estratto. Poiche le suddette lettere sono in tutto venti quattro foglie, oltre la lettera del principe gentile e molte cose contenute nelle lettere non me bastato l'animo a trascrivere...". APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 366r-v.

38 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 185r.

39 Mar Hormez claimed that his predecessors had exercised power over the Syrians in Malabar. He had his own justification for this claim. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the ancient Church of the East [also called Assyrian, Chaldean or Nestorian] was a kingdom divided against itself, for it had three patriarchs at loggerhead with each other. Elias XII (1778) could rightfully claim to be the successor of the original line of catholicos-patriarchs which can be traced back at least to 498 A.D.. They resided at the

Nestorians, had sent the bishops in Malabar. This was confirmed also with the letters brought by these four messengers[41].

But prescinding from this, he thought that with all justice he should provide for the urgent needs of the Christians of Malabar[42] because they were co-national and they were also now directed to him. Therefore, without expecting a hurried reply from the Congregation[43], he wanted to give at once the desired pastors to those Christians[44].

On the same day John [Yohannan] of Haruthiun [Haruthium], the administrator of the diocese of Ispahan (Itispahan) in Persia, also wrote to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide regarding the same subject[45]. He described clearly in his letter the bad

famed monastery of Rabban Hormizd near Alkosh. The second patriarchate, the existence of which was originally due to the union with Rome of Simon VIII Sulaqa in 1553 remained Catholic until the last quarter of the seventeenth century. (for details see HABBI, *Signification de l' union Chaldeenne de Mar Sulaqa*, 99-132, 199-230). Since 1672 a movement towards Catholicism in the region of Diarbekir had become so active that its 'Assyrian' metropolitan, Joseph, firmly adhered to Rome and in 1681 became a patriarch. However the Roman authorities conferred on him only the title of 'patriarch of the Chaldeans' without any particular locality or region attached to the function. In 1775 his successor, Joseph IV, was the only one of those three patriarchs to be united with Rome. See HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 82. (Fr. Hambye has summarized the history of the three patriarchs based on the article HABBI J., *Le unificaton de la Hierarchie Chaldeenne dans la premiere moitie du XIX' siecle*, in *Parole d' Orient 2* (1971), 121-144; 305-327).

40 Alkosh should have many documents regarding the Church of Malabar and its relation with the Chaldean or Persian Church (the same idea is held by Mar John Hormez in some of his letters).

41 APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 185r-v.

42 According to Fr. Fulgentius, the apostolic vicar of Babylonia, it seemed that a contention arose between John Hormez and Michael Jarweh, who had become since 1783 not only the elected successor of his Syrian Orthodox predecessor, George IV, but also the first Syrian Catholic patriarch of modern times to succeed in forming a Syro-Antiochean Church united to Rome. Each of the prelates pretended that the Christians of Malabar fell to their care. Owing to the existence of a Syrian Orthodox community of Thomas Christians and to the fact that some of them had signed the above-mentioned letter addressed to Joseph IV, it was clear that why Michael Jarweh could make some claims. HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 85.

43 Fr. Hambye was of the opinion that during the stay at Baghdad, Hormez told the deputation to have nothing to do with Fr. Fulgentius, the then apostolic vicar of Babylonia. The latter, who had been nominated apostolic visitor of the Chaldeans at Mosul and at Diarbekir and had visited the place in 1795-1796, interviewed the metropolitan on the arrival of the delegation from Malabar. The only information he could receive was that they had come to ask for a bishop. Fulgentius advised him not to intervene in the Malabar affairs without an expressed order from Rome. HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 85.

44 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 185v.

45 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 183r. Rome received the Malabar version of Cariattil's death through John's letter. See APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 359r. John of Haruthiun was a friend of Mar Cariattil in the Propaganda college, and for this reason he, very sad about the news of his death, informed the Congregation of the same. (The news about the death of Mar Cariattil was already sent to Propaganda Fide by Fr. Paulinus, although another version).

examples of the missionaries[46] in the Orient. He also included an account of the letter of the Christians of Malabar, together with a summary extract of their laments[47].

On December 20[48] Mar Hormez wrote again to Propaganda. Since he felt that he should send a bishop to the Chaldeans in Malabar or in other places distant from Persia where it was difficult to have access, he requested that the Pope to give him the faculty to authorize those bishops, in case of necessity to elect and ordain with the assistance of priests in the territory of other bishops, another bishop who would be worthy and acceptable to the people. And he asked these faculties explicitly for Malabar[49].

1.2.1.3. Pandari got ordained bishop

Without having obtained the answer from the Congregation, Mar John Hormez decided to ordain Paul Pandari, one of the four from the deputation and to send him to Malabar[50]. Thus after 16 months[51] of stay at Baghdad Paul Pandari was consecrated

46 "Contrary to the past, the religious missionaries who by their examples and with sane doctrines sowed the Divine Word and the way of salvation, at present with their bad examples and worse principles taint the poor Christianity". See the details in APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 359r.

47 "... un estratto epilogato degli lamenti di quei poveri cristiani del Malabar, che desperato dal pessimo trattar dei padri missionari, gia 62 chiese o villagi, si sono nominati un prete per vescovo e si sono separati dagli padri e sono divenuti eretici, e tutto il resto dei cristiani si sono determinati di farsi eretici ed anche idolatri piuttosto che obbedir, o aver che far cogli padri latini di qua in poi quando che Msgr. Mar Johannan anche non gli provvedesse di vescovo. E se gli provvederà di vescovo tutti promettono ... gli suddetti eretici di farsi cattolici ed esser obbedienti alla Santa Sede di Roma, però in tutti gli conti non vogliano gli padri latini ... oltre gli loro abbominevoli diportamenti (come si scrivono i *catanars* ed a bocca raccontono) hanno gli malabaresi scoperti molti tradimenti, e fra di de padri: primieramente un loro vescovo caldeo è stato amazzato molto tempo fa in Mattancheri per opera di costoro, come scrivono, ed ultimamente Monsig. Giuseppe Cariatti, che lo conosco, essendo stato mio coalunno, scrivono, che venuto da Portogallo, il capitano non lo ha lasciato scendere in Cochin, ma per forza l'ha portato a Goa, ed essendo stato invitato a pranzo, sia stato avvelenato: Di più tanti anni, che scrivevano lettere a Roma, non hanno la risposta; hanno scoperto, che le loro lettere tutte erano state intercettate da due padri, come essendosi ubbriacato il vescovo di Verapoly, un malabarese in una casettina nella camera avendo scoperto le loro lettere, le ha rubate,ed ha portate,e consegnate ai suoi preti". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 359r. Reference to these laments is also seen in APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 373r-v.

48 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 185v.

49 "... che dovendo egli spedire qualche vescovo ai caldei del Malabar, o in altri luoghi lontani dalla Persia, donde era a lui difficile l'accesso, il Sommo Pontifice gli desse la facoltà di poter autorizzare quei vescovi a poter eleggere, ed ordinare nel caso di bisogno un altro vescovo, che fosse però ben degno, ed accetto al popolo con la sola assistenza dei sacerdoti in luogo di altri vescovi, giacché cola non vi sono. E questa facoltà richiesse egli espressamente per il Malabar". APF, *Acta 168*, f. 186r.

50 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 186v.

51 Sixteen months of stay meant that the delegation arrived at Baghdad in November 1796, and Pandari as bishop returned to Malabar in February or early March 1798.

bishop by the Archbishop Mar John, the administrator of the Chaldean patriarch[52]. First he was ordained priest and then consecrated bishop *in partibus* as Mar Abraham[53]. He was ordained not for Malabar but as a titular bishop for the monastery of St. Behnan[54] near Mosul, which was almost in ruins but had once bishops[55]. Pandari's written profession of faith was then sent to Rome[56]. After the consecration he returned to Malabar with two priests[57].

52 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 186v; APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 373v; APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 55v; ACO, *Ponenze 1 (Caldei)*, f. 36.

53 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 186v. Some documents say that together with Mar Pandari another person named Hanum Ieshuab (Iso'yahb) was also consecrated bishop (e.g., a consultation written by Fr. Fulgentius, the apostolic vicar of Babylonia on June 27, 1798, in APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 269r-270v). Some letters of Mar Hormez too witnessed that another bishop was consecrated with Mar Pandari (but no name was given). Although the report of the General Assembly of March 30, 1801, while narrating the consecration of Mar Pandari (APF, *Acta 168*, f. 186v), made no mention of the consecration of another bishop, when speaking about the illegitimate action of Mar Hormez wrote that he [Mar Hormez] expressed the idea of calling back the bishop Ieshuab [Iso'yahb] (APF, *Acta 168*, f. 188r). In the latter case, I think it was incorrectly stated by the relator of General Assembly since the intended person was Pandari (see the words "... che richiamasse a se il vescovo Ieshuab, e che sospendesse dal ministro e funzioni episcopali il suddetto vescovo Paolo Pandari..."; APF, *Acta 168*, f. 188r). No document--neither Roman nor local--says that such a bishop came to Malabar. The General Assembly of Propaganda met of April 13, 1807, took into discussion the request of Fr. Paulinus to the Propaganda to tell the archbishop Mar Hormez to call back from Malabar the other bishop Iso'yahb in order to avoid further schism (APF, *Acta 174*, f. 107r). But the Congregation was sure that such a bishop had not been sent to Malabar (APF, *Acta 174*, f. 107v). So it is possible that a bishop by the name of Hanum Iso'yahb was consecrated by Mar Hormez, most probably for another diocese; and as he was consecrated together with Mar Pandari, the action was misunderstood as consecrated for Malabar and was misinterpreted as sent to Malabar.

54 The monastery of Mar Behnan [Behnam, Behenan] is situated in the plain of Mosul and belonged to the Syrian Catholics since the first decades of the nineteenth century. This century-old monastery never depended on the catholicosate of the East. We may suspect that Mar John chose that title in order to make the new Malabar bishop acceptable to the Syrian Orthodox Thomas Christians. In their church of Angamaly there is an eighteenth century painting of the martyr St. Behnam, which could indicate that this saint was known to them for some time past. See HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 86.

55 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 374r. See the words of Mar Hormez: "... ordinargli sacerdote e vescovo interim non di Malabar, ma del S. Behnan nella vicinanza di Mosul di un monastero mezzo rovinato, che nei tempi passati aveva un vescovo".

56 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 186v; APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 374r (letter of Mar Hormez to the Congregation of Propaganda on October 30, 1799).

57 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 186v. Note the words of Mar John: "Gli diede due sacerdoti capaci di lingua caldea, e di riti". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 374r. Their names are: Hormis [Hormez] Bekana d' Armuta and Joseph d' Ainkawa. See HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 86; APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 356r (letter of some priests from Malabar); APF, *Acta 168*, f. 289r. (In the latter two cases, Joseph and Hormus are given). Fr. Hambye was of opinion that the others in the deputation returned to Malabar with Mar Pandari. Thus the delegation with the two Chaldean priests left for Bombay via Basra, as he held, at the end of February or early March. From Bombay these two Chaldean priests wrote to the metropolitan that they were embarking for Kochi, where they landed at the end of March. See HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 86.

1.2.1.4. Answer from Rome

The letter of Mar Hormez stating the situation reached the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on March 17, 1797[58]. The Congregation was exercising its function in Paduva when the letter from Mar John reached Rome[59]. On May 10, 1799, the Congregation sent him the reply[60] expressing its regret on the woeful event, of which Mar John himself was the only author. The letter reflected the feeling of the Congregation:

> Whether he had not known that the Malabar Church, which was reduced and united to the Roman Church, had taken the solemn oath in the Council of Diamper of obedience to the Pope[61] and they had promised not to receive any other bishop unless sent immediately from the Holy See, and thus to prevent any sort of schism, which in that country was easy to be formed as they were once heretic Nestorians and Jacobites... And although they are a group of Christians who follow the Syriac rite, but are different from the Chaldeans, called Syrians [Christians of the Syriac language and Syriac rite], they were always governed by the Latin bishops of Kodungalloor after their union with the Roman Church, and have never received a Chaldean bishop from a Chaldean patriarch[62].

58 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 191v. Here it is written 'the letter from Baghdad'. But which letter (written on which date) is not mentioned here. Mar John said that he had sent letters to Rome four times. This may be the first one (written on November 25, 1796) as this was the most urgent, narrating the situation in its gravity and asking for an immediate response.

59 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 187r. Since January 20, 1798, Rome was in the hands of the French revolutionary army, and a month later Pope Pius VI was deported first to North Italy and then to France itself. For details see PASTOR, *Storia dei Papi*, 645-650; JEDIN, *History of the Church VII*, 48-49; BIHLMEYER-TÜCHLE, *Church History*, 295-296.

60 It shows that the reply was given only after two years and two months. Within this time the Congregation might have got the other three letters from Mar John, too. The suppression of Propaganda with the decree of March 15, 1798, in the course of the French Revolution, by Haller as *istituto assolutamente inutile* was a blow on the then procedings of that institution. For details see PASTOR, *Storia dei Papi*, 326-327.

61 Acção III, Decree 8 of the Synod of Diamper deals with the legitimate authority of the Church. It says: Roman Pontiff alone is the universal pastor and the Chaldean patriarch is heretic. THALIATH, *Synod of Diamper*, 220. (The original documents of the synod are in BAV, *Borgiano Indiano* 3, 21; *Vaticano Indiano* 18).

62 APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 187r-v, "Se gli fece intendere, che la nazione malabarese ridotta ed unita alla chiesa Romana aveva solennamente giurata nel concilio di Odiamper una stretta ubbidienza al Papa, vicario di Gesù Cristo, e promesso di non ricevere altri vescovi, se non quelli che saranno mandati immediatamente dalla S. Sede; e ciò per impedire qualunque scisma, che in que paesi era facile a formarsi, giacché vi erano degli eretici Nestoriani e Giacobiti. Fù avvertito, che quella nazione seguiva il rito siriaco, avendo una messa Soriana distinta dalla Caldea, nella quale consecrava in azimo, e non in fermentato: che si chiamava sorianikarer, ciò è Cristiani di lingua, e di rito soriano: che la medesima fù sempre governata dai vescovi latini di Cranganore dopo la di lei unione con la chiesa Romana, e che mai aveva ricevuto un vescovo caldeo dal Patriarca Caldeo". (underline is of the archivist).

63 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 187v.

After having informed Mar John of the above, the Congregation came to the conclusion that he had no authority[63] to consecrate a bishop for a nation which neither belonged to him nor was of his rite, and which was immediately dependent upon the Holy See. The Congregation protested:

> Is it not a violation of the rights of other bishops? and of the Holy See?... And he consecrated Pandari without the resignation letter of a bishop or of the apostolic vicar who lives in Malabar. Added to this, he was also proposed by a pagan king of Malabar, who received money from the people, but from only a part of the people and, thereby, the other part, which has never acknowledged Pandari as a bishop, remains faithful[64].

Thus the Congregation, expressing its regret over the act of Mar Hormez, came to the conclusion that Mar John should call Pandari back or suspend him from the ministry and from episcopal functions as long as he was not rectified by the Holy See, to which he should appeal for absolution and to be enabled for the exercise of his episcopal functions. Mar John, the Congregation held, could not be excused from the obligation of conscience; he should account to God that he had been made bishop and administrator of the Chaldean patriarch not for the ruin and destruction of the people and of the Church, on the contrary to edify them[65].

The Congregation wrote[66] simultaneously also to Msgr. Aloysius Mary, the apostolic vicar of Malabar thinking that the apostolic vicar could act in this regard and might bring Pandari to the obedience of the Holy See. So the Congregation wrote that: "he may tell Paul Pandari about his illegal consecration and, therefore, of his suspension and finally to induce him to seek the absolution from the Holy See"[67].

1.2.1.4.1. Explanation of Mar John Hormez.

Mar John, after having received[68] the response from the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, sent an immediate reply. On October 30, 1799, he wrote to the Congrega-

64 APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 187v-188r, "... aggiungansi, che Ella consacrò Paolo Abramo Pandari senza dimissione di un vescovo cattolico, o del vicario apostolico che si trova nel Malabar. Aggiungansi che questo soggetto fù proposto da un re pagano del Malabar, il quale ricevette danari da una sola parte della nazione malabarese, essendo stata contraria l'altra parte più sana, che mai riconoscera il detto Paolo per vescovo".

65 See APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 188r-v.

66 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 188v.

67 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 188v, "... di notificare al nuovo vescovo Paolo Abramo Pandari la sua illegale consegrazione, e la sospensione portata dal suo consagrante, e che finalmente lo diriggesse per la sua assolusione alla S. Sede. The Congregation continued: mentre ricevendosi da esso favorevoli riscontri di ubbidienza, la Sacra Congregazione avrebbe saputo definire ciò che poteva esser utile per le anime, che si erano commesse alla di lui direzione".

68 He got the letter from the Congregation on September 16, 1799. See APF, *SOCG, 908*, f. 373r. As Mar John had to go to Mosul as commissioned by the government for some civil matters, he charged Fr. John

tion[69], explaining the circumstances in which he consecrated Pandari. On January 20, 1800, he wrote again to the Congregation[70], two letters expressing sorrow rather than astonishment. He who had had a unique and strict dependance on the Holy See and he who had always promoted faithful obedience and subjection to the same was now found culpable of independence and a usurper of the rights of the Holy See and the perturber of the diocese[71]. He added that if he had had such an intention, he could have invaded Mardin or Diarbekir or elsewhere in Turkey which were subject to him, rather to search a distant land, of no utility to him and moreover cost him a lot[72].

He then narrated the situation in which he had to act; and he gave explanation why he acted so[73]. He wrote:

> I wrote eight letters (four times, each time two letters) to the Congregation[74] during the stay of the delegation at Baghdad, i.e., within 16 months[75] to know what to do in such a circumstance with the delegation from Malabar. And I did not get any response from Rome[76]. In the meantime the deputation did not want to wait and the expenses in these 16 months were great. They had nothing with

Haruthiun, administrator of the diocese of Ispahan, to translate this letter (into Arabic) which he received from the Congregation.

69 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 188v. This letter is seen in APF, *SOCG 908*, ff. 373r-374v.

70 APF, *Acta, 168*, f. 188v. This letter is found in APF, *SOCG, 908*, ff. 371r-372v. In the first part of this letter too he explained the situation which forced him to consecrate Pandari. But in the second part he spoke against the missionaries who were working in the Orient.

71 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 189r. See the words of Mar John: "... giacché io pretendendo, e però curando di dipendenza unicamente e strettamente dalla Sede di Roma, e di promovere nei fedeli l'ubbidienza, e la soggezzione alla stessa, per mia non so, qual disavventura mi trovo attaccato, ed incolpata d'indipendenza d'usurpatore di diritti della stessa Santa Sede, e di perturbatore della diocesi". APF, *SOCG 908*, f. 373r (letter of Mar John to the Congregation on October 30, 1799).

72 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 189r. Note the words of Mar Hormez: "Per soggettava a me Mardin, Diarbekir ed altrove in Turkia, che appartengono a me, e che sono vicini a me e con poca fatica o qualche emolumento non disppregevole potrai ottenere. Essendo che il detto Gran Signore, mi da tutte la facoltà, e la Sacra Congregazione anche prima ciò voleva, solo ha ... che Diarbekir aveva per riconoscermi, che io a forza avrei potuto ottenere, però non ho mai desiderato. Come dunque poteva la Sacra Congregazione attacarmi di ciò per Malabar, che è lontanissimo da me, e non mi è stata d'utile; anzi di molte spese contra la mia forza". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 373r (letter of Mar John Hormez to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on October 30, 1799).

73 See APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 189v-190r.

74 The letters were sent to Rome via Constantinople and Vienna through respectful Armenian Catholic merchants from Constantinople. See APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 371r.

75 The deputation arrived at Baghdad in November 1796 and returned in March 1798.

76 At this time Rome was invaded. "Mentre la Santa Sede Apostolica Romana non si può trovandosi anche essa nelle maggiori angustie oppresse dai francesi...". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 379v (An extract of the letter of

them to eat or to wear and had no money. Then, what to do in such a circumstance? And I could not go in person to Malabar nor could I send another bishop to confirm them in faith. And the delegates were in ultimate desperation and they were protesting that returning to Malabar without a solution to their problem would collapse everything and the whole Christianity would perish[77].

Mar Hormez thus justified himself, saying that in such a situation he thought it better to send them a bishop in the person of Pandari, but not with jurisdiction[78], just to help them in their despair, otherwise they would have become heretics or idolators and thus would be destroyed the sheep of Our Lord because of him[79].

For Hormez, Pandari was not unworthy of ordination. The reasons he put forward are the following:

1. The faithful in Malabar wanted one among them, with all probability Paul Pandari, to be ordained. So they might/ should have sent the suitable person[80].
2. He had with him many certificates of his ability[81] and good behavior[82].
3. During his stay at Baghdad he spent the time in the study of ecclesiastical books[83].

the administrator of the Chaldean patriarch to the Catholics of Malabar on January 5, 1799). See also footnote 59.

77 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 373v, "... ed in questo fra tempo quatro volte scrissi alla Sacra Congregazione, sempre duplicatamente, che vuol dire otto lettere, per sentire cosa mi avvrebbe imposto di fare in tali circostanze; e vedendo che nessuna risposta mi veniva ... ed io non potendo d'avvantaggar tener a gran mie spese questi messi, che non avevano per mangiare, ne per vestirsi, che sempre io dovuto provvederli di tutto/ come pure per il loro lungo viaggio, che mi promissero, è vero, di rimettermi dopo il loro arrivo, che però fin ora non ho avuto un quattrino. Or io non potendo andar persona per confermargli nella fede, ne avendo vescovi abili per mandargli com erano venuti, veduti abbandonati nell' ultima desperazione".

78 "... non già con giurisdizione, ma solo per fermare que' cristianità", i.e., to provide for the needs of the Church. APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 379r.

79 "Veduti abbandonati nell'ultima desperazione, e si facessero eretici, o idolatrici, e cosi si perdessero tante peccore del Signore per mia ragione". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 373v.

80 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 190r, "E siccome il clero malabarese chiedeva, che fosse ordinato uno dei quattro mesi...". However, it seems that there was no such intention because if they [Malabar clergy] had this intent, they could have sent suitable persons.

81 "... il quale portava amplissimi attestati della sua probità". APF, *Acta 168*, f. 190r.

82 "Voi chiedete che Paolo ... dicendoci esser egli di ottimi costumi, e di dottrina sana ...". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 374r. See also APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 379v (An extract of the letter of the administrator of the Chaldean patriarch to the Christians of Malabar on January 5, 1799).

83 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 374r.

And he justified himself saying that as the deputation came to him with the hope that their problem be solved, it was not right on his part to leave them again in despair[84], but to grant them a bishop.

He thus came to the conclusion that it is with full conviction and according to his conscience that he acted[85]. He held:

> And does this all not show my total dependance on the Holy See? And why did I get from Paul Pandari his written profession of faith[86] and the obedience to the Congregation as with all bishops and sent it to Rome? And why did I not keep it with me? And why did I not appoint him as bishop of Angamaly, rather as bishop in partibus of St. Behnan; deprived of all jurisdiction and only conditionally a bishop i.e., provided that the Holy See approved[87].

He held the view that the Congregation could not find fault because he consecrated Pandari only after one year and four months; and why did the Congregation not respond to his eight letters[88]? The Congregation should not have kept silence regarding his letters if the Congregation had received them[89], but either in detail or in brief he should have been told not to intervene in such affairs[90]. So this itself was a countersign, he viewed, that the Congregation did not want to answer nor to solve the problem. He continued:

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84 "Noi pensato avendo in vista l'estrmo bisogno, in cui ritrovasi quella cristianità convertita, e le afflizioni in cui si immerserebbe di più per mancanza di operai, perciò abbaiamo consecrato un vescovo che insieme con due sacerdoti...". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 379v.

85 See APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 371r.

86 Mar Hormez sent the written profession of faith of Mar Paul Pandari to the Congregation. See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 186v.

87 APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 190v-191r, "Tutto ciò... prova la sua totale dependenza dalla S. Sede. Non per altra ragione egli esiggette dal nuovo vescovo la professione di fede, e di ubbidienza alla Sede Romana, come la esigge da tutti gli altri vescovi, non per altra ragione lo consacrò vescovo in partibus e non di Angamali nel Malabar, privandolo di ogni giurisdizione; non per altro motivo spedi provisionalmente quel vescovo, cio è fino a tanto che la S. Sede provvedesse". APF, *Acta* 168, ff. 190v-191r. See also APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 374r. (underline is of the archivist).

88 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 191r.

89 In the letter of January 20, 1800, he wrote: "... prima aspettai un anno e 4 mesi la risposta di otto mie lettere in italiano, che le (*sic*) giunsero tutta o qualcuna, o non giunsero". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 371r.

The letter of Mar Hormez on this matter reached Rome in 1797, and it is referred to by the Secretary in the General Assembly of March 17, 1797. APF, *Acta 168*, f. 191v. (it is given as a footnote in the report of the *Ponenza*).

90 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 371r. "... sè giunsero, doveva la Sacra Congregazione non tacere, ma è rispondermi a pieno o in breve, ordinandomi di non intrigarmi in tali affari...". (letter of Mar Hormez to the Congregation on January 20, 1800).

> So as a legitimate son of the Holy See, seeing the mother [Church] in such an agony, who could not provide the flock which is going to perish[91], I found obliged according to my conscience to save it temporarily until the Holy See could do something. I did not know the Synod of Diamber[92]; but only knew that in Malabar there were Chaldeans who were provided with bishops by my preceding Nestorian patriarchs and I thought that I, being a Catholic, should not lose the jurisdiction [over them][93].

And he concluded that he as the administrator of the Chaldean patriarch acted not to destroy but to edify[94].

1.2.1.4.2. The decision to call him back

Finally Mar John Hormez, respecting the order given to him, agreed to recall Pandari back from Malabar[95] thinking that Pandari would willingly follow his order[96]. He was of opinion that since Pandari was 'black'[97], staying in Malabar he could create there additional problems[98]; not only for himself but also for the Christians. So it would be better that the Congregation would call him to Europe; such an act belonged to the Holy See, and not to him. However, to show his obedience he would send a letter to the Congregation directed to the clergy and the people of Malabar, in which he would expose the situation to Pandari and ask him to follow the decision of the Holy See, and the Congregation could send this letter to Malabar together with its orders[99].

91 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 371r, "... tutto come figlio legittimo della S. Sede, vedendo che la mia madre, e padre erano tanto in angustia, che non potevano provvedere alle pecore, che erano per smarrirsi...".

92 It is not right to think that he did not know the Synod of Udayamperoor (Diamper).

93 APF, *Acta 168*, ff.191r-v, "Stimò obbligo di sua coscienza di salvarla provvisoriamente nel modo, che fece, cio è fino a tanto, che potesse provvedervi la S. Sede. Non era, dice a lui noto il sinodo di Odiamper; sapeva solo, che nel Malabar vi erano dei Caldei, i quali erano stati provveduti di vescovo dai patriarchi nestoriani suoi predecessori; e credeva, che per esser egli cattolico non perdesse la sua giurisdizione". See also APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 371r.

94 "Aministratore del patriarcato de caldei non già in destruzione, e rovina de popoli e della chiesa, ma bensí per edificare la medesima". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 371r. He continued: "... ed in quelle circostanze, pensavo che non si dovesse cercare, chi era di Cefa, di Paolo, o di Apollo, ma puramente la causa di Cristo". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 371v.

95 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 371v.

96 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 192r.

97 'Black' in the sense of illegal or unauthorized.

98 The apostolic vicar is already there, so the existence of another bishop, even without jurisdiction, can cause problems.

99 See APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 192r-v.

Accordingly, together with his letter of January 20, 1800, he included to Propaganda the letter[100] to be sent to Malabar. In the latter as in his former letters to the Congregation after explaining the 'how' and 'why' of the events that happened[101] in the meantime, he came to the description of his acts. Since he was mindful of the situation he had to act first for the cause of Jesus Christ and then because he was a legitimate son of the father and the mother[102]. He told the people of Malabar:

> I have provided you with a bishop, thinking that you would remain Catholic and obedient to the Holy See. Now sensing[103] that the Congregation and many people disagree with my act, now I write you that you all should depend upon Holy See; so too the Bishop Paul Pandari, Abraham of Mar Behnan, he should not exercise the bishop's power, nor should stay in any place without the orders of the Holy See, to which I too am a subject and to which every Catholic should be subjected[104].

Mar John's decision to call Pandari back, considering the gravity and the repercussion of his action, and of writing[105] to the Congregation in obedience to and dependent on the Holy See, cooled the situation at Baghdad as well as his mind, albeit leaving Malabar heated.

100 The letter is titled as *Al clero e popolo di Malabar*. APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 378r.

101 The arrival of the deputation at Baghdad, the content of the letters which they had with them, the stay of one year and four months of the deputation at Baghdad, Mar John's eight letters to Propaganda Fide, etc.

102 "... onde pensando io da una parte la causa essere del nostro Signore Gesù Cristo; e che il mio padre cioè il sommo pontifice, e la mia madre cioè la Sancta Chiesa Romana esser in perturbazione, ed anche in schiavitù, io legitimo figlio doveva procurare la conservazione degli fedeli figlis (*sic*) della stessa madre e padre". APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 378r-v.

103 From the letter of the Congregation he could sense the attitude of the Holy See. It is also possible that he might have had a second thought regarding his act of consecrating Pandari. He might have known the situation in Malabar from the letter of the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha, Aloysius Mary, written to Fr. Fulgentius, the apostolic vicar of Babylonia on May 22, 1799. (This letter is referred in: APF, *Acta 168*, f. 193r, and can be found in: APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 377r-v).

104 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 378v, "Sareste restati cattolici, ed obbedienti alla Santa Catolica Romana; acciò non si perdessero tante peccore del Signore, finché da Roma avessi ricevuti i necessari documenti. Or io sentendo di Sacra Congregazione, che pochi del popolo, e non tutti son stati qui, che hanno fatto questo attentato di scrivermi a nome di tutto il suddetto popolo e clero, io mi dichiaro, e protesto, che voi altri dovete in tutto e per tutto dependere dalla Santa Sede Apostolica; come pur il vescovo Paolo Pandari, o Abramo, di Mar Behenan vescovo non deve esercitar alcun atto vescovile, né trattenersi in verun luogo senza gli ordini della suddetta Santa Sede di Roma, a cui io pur son soggetto, ed ogni cattolico pur deve soggettarsi".

105 After having consecrated and sent Pandari to Malabar (March 1798) and while he was waiting for the response from the Holy See,--he got the reply only on September 16, 1799--he decided to write to the faithful in Malabar. So on January 5, 1799, he wrote to Malabar. After having described the events that occurred after the arrival of the deputation at Baghdad, he wanted to clarify his intention of consecrating Pandari, although willed by them, justifying his act to show that he was not against the Holy See, but a legitimate son of the Holy Roman Catholic Church ('legitimate son'= see APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 378r [letter to the clergy and people of Malabar]; APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 371r [letter to the Congregation]), See APF,

1.2.1.5. The meantime in Malabar

Bishop Paul Pandari, titled Mar Abraham[106], arrived in Malabar in March 1798[107]. Two Chaldean priests[108] sent by the Mar John followed him[109], and were welcomed by the people[110]. When they presented themselves to the apostolic vicar,

SOCG 907, ff. 379r-v. He informed them through the letter that his intention was to help them in their need. He added that he sent Pandari until the Holy See provided for their needs. Towards the end of the letter he wrote: "We thought to take this step since you had asked us a for bishop; and if we would not send you one, there would occur great turbulence. Paul Pandari has been told that he is not yet approved by the Holy See, and until the approval he can serve the Church as a simple priest without any authority". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 379v.

106 Paul Pandari is known by many names. Sometimes he is called Mar Pandari, and at other times Mar Abraham. There is a little confusion with regard to the origin of this title. In the letter of Aloysius Mary he is called Mar Abraham, connecting him with the name of the monastery (" ... che detto Paolo Pandari colla sua permissione era stato ordinato sacerdote ed in seguito consecrato vescovo titolare di un monastero di Mar Abraham..." APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 55v [letter of Aloysius Mary to Propaganda on August 27, 1801]). But in the letters of Mar John, administrator of the Chaldean patriarchate, he is seen as Mar Paul Pandari (APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 371v, 374r, 378v) or as Mar Paul Abraham (APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 379v) or as Mar Abraham (APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 378v, ["... il vescovo Paolo Pandari, o Abraham di Mar Behenan..."]). From the letter of Mar John it is clear that the monastery is called Mar Behenan and not Mar Abraham. For example, see APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 378v. Here we read " ...e poi vescovo con titolo *di Mar Behenan del monastero...*". So 'Abraham' is not the title of the monastery, but might be the second name [not family name] of Pandari.

Paul Pandari belonged to the parish of Puthenchira, which from the beginning of the eighteenth century had been used as residence by the archbishops of Kodungalloor.

107 What happened with the other three in the deputation is not known (i.e., nothing is mentioned about them in contemporary documents). As desired by Mar John of Haruthiun, one among them, Joseph [Joseph the young boy of 12 years], to be sent to Propaganda for studies might remain at Baghdad. Fr. Hambye is of opinion that the other members of the delegation accompanied Mar Paul Pandari. (But he speaks only of two, since according to him in the delegation there were only three persons, including Paul Pandari. See HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 86. His opinion is not correct, as many letters witness that there were four in the delegation).

108 Regarding the arrival of the two priests in Malabar see APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 377r (letter of Aloysius Mary to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on May 22, 1799).

109 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 193r. Regarding their arrival see also APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 55v (letter of Aloysius Mary to Propaganda Fide on August 27, 1801); APF, *SOCG* 907, f. 377r (letter of Aloysius Mary to Propaganda Fide on May 22, 1799).

In the letter of Aloysius Mary of August 27, 1801, we see in addition to the two priests who followed Pandari another servant too. See his words: "Sul finire del mese di Marzo 1798, arrivo al Malabar il famoso vescovo Paolo Pandari, ora col nome di Mar Abraham con due sacerdoti soriani, ed un servitore...". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 55v.

110 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 55v.

Aloysius Mary of Jesus[111], he asked Mar Pandari to show the apostolic letters of approval. The apostolic vicar, who found that Pandari was not sent by the Holy See since he lacked the bull, did not want to accept him[112]. Realizing that this was different from his expectations, to get rid of such an unwelcome situation, the apostolic vicar Aloysius Mary went to the ecclesiastical administrator Thomas Paremmakkal and inquired of him the real situation. Aloysius Mary wrote:

> Paremmakkal responded to him that when Pandari arrived at Baghdad, since the patriarch was at Rome (already dead), he was ordained by the administrator as priest and consequently as bishop and sent to Malabar to assist him; for the episcopal functions he was fully subjected to his orders, and without any ordinary or extraordinary jurisdiction[113].

And they endeavoured to accept Pandari as a simple priest[114], as he says *servatis servandis*, until he would get the orders from the Holy See[115]. The apostolic vicar then

111 There is difficulty to believe these words of Aloysius Mary, because such a delegation to Baghdad was not desired by the Carmelites and Bishop Pandari who knew well the attitude of the Carmelites might not be disposed to present himself before Aloysius Mary, the apostolic vicar. It was all possible that when Bishop Pandari knew that he was in trouble, he should have approached the apostolic vicar.

112 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 55v. The apostolic vicar, Aloysius Mary, thought--as he wrote--that since Mar Pandari deputated the nation of Malabar, he might be consecrated by the Chaldean patriarch, Mar Joseph, in accordance with the regulations of the Holy See and he might be entitled to the necessary faculties and powers to rule the Syrian Christians of Malabar.

113 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 55v. Here it is difficult to believe Aloysius Mary because there was no possibility for Paremmakkal to tell Aloysius Mary that Bishop Pandari was sent to Malabar to assist him [the governor Paremmakkal]. This is clear from the fact that Paremmakkal did not recognize Pandari in Malabar and did not allow him to exercise the powers in Malabar as long as he [Paremmakkal] lived.

114 "si comportasse come un simplice sacerdote", APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 55v. It came to such a conclusion since Paul Pandari, as Aloysius Mary held, was not a subject of the Archbishop Mar John, but of the Malabar Church, and was bishop immediately to the Holy See and not to the Chaldean Church. Aloysius Mary held further that the consecration was against the canons of the council of Udayamperoor (Diamper) and also without the necessary apostolic bull. He was 'underage', as well as lacking the necessary knowledge, especially in Syriac and even not sufficiently educated. So until he was dissolved from the ecclesiastical censures, he could remain as a simple priest without any distinction of bishop up to the time he would receive the necessary rescripts from the Holy See. See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 55v.

Canon XX of the Council of Trullo (called also 'the Quinisext council') speaks about the reduction of the episcopate to the grade of a simple priest: "It shall not be lawful for a bishop to teach publically in any city which does not belong to him. If any shall have been observed doing this, let him cease from his episcopate, but let him discharge the office of a presbyter". SCHAFF & WACE, *Seven Ecumenical Councils*, 375. The Council of Trent (session 6, Decree on 'the residence of bishops and others of lower rank', chapter 5) holds almost the same: "Nulli episcopo liceat cuiusvis privilegii praetextu pontificalia in alterius diocesi exercere, nisi de ordinarii loci expressa licentia et in personas eidem ordinario subiectas tantum; si secus factum fuerit, episcopus ab exercitio pontificalium, et sic ordinati ab executione ordinum sint ipso iure suspensi". TANNER, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 683.

115 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 193v.

talked with the two priests[116] sent by Mar John. Then only he understood, as he claimed, that they were convinced of the incompetence of the Archbishop Mar John Hormez. Both of them submitted to the apostolic vicar and requested him to have the patent to celebrate Holy Mass within the limits of the apostolic vicariate[117]. Owing to the forbearance of the Bishop Mar Pandari and of the two priests held by Aloysius Mary, everything went on peacefully for one year[118].

1.2.2. The prelude to the schism

At the beginning of the year 1798, the Syrian Christians belonging (territorially) to the diocese of Kochi who were living in the kingdom of Thiruvithamkoor (Travancore)[119], due to a dispute[120] with the bishop of Kochi[121] decided to be submitted to the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha (Verapoly)[122] on the condition that one among them should be made the vicar general or archdeacon[123]. The apostolic vicar refused their

116 As they were Chaldeans belonging to the patriarchate of Baghdad, they had no right to exercise power in Malabar, unless provided.

117 These words cannot be taken in the literal sense that they so readily submitted to the apostolic vicar is not easy to be believed; especially since one of them, as the report of the General Assembly of March 30, 1801, stated, was appointed assistant by the people to Mar Pandari as the latter seemed to be incapable. See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 194r. It is so written that one of them was appointed assistant with the title of governor and the other returned to Baghdad. It is clear that the one appointed as governor was Kattakayathil Abraham. The documents witness that both Chaldean priests returned to Baghdad [not later than November 27, 1800]. See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 290v (letter of Fr. Fulgentius to the Congregation on November 27, 1800).

118 See APF, *Acta 168*, f.193v.

119 Although the great part of the Syrian Christians live in the kingdom of Thiruvithamkoor, a few are found in the kingdom of Kochi, too.

120 The reason of the dispute is not given in the documents.

121 Msgr. José de Soledade was the then bishop of Kochi. See FERROLI, *Jesuits in Malabar*, 113. See also NAZARETH, *Mitras I*, 322; APF, *SC IO 1*, ff. 55r-v (letter of the apostolic vicar, Aloysius Mary to the Congregation on August 27, 1801). The little interest Bishop Soledade showed in the reunion efforts of Mar Thomas VI [Dionysius I] points out his character. See KOLLAPARAMBIL, *Mar Dionysius the Great*, 184.

122 The name Varapuzha will be used hereafter, basing on the new *Kerala Gazette No. 677*.

123 The office of archdeacon is very particular and even unique in the Church of the Indian Syrian Christians. For details on archdeacon see KOLLAPARAMBIL, *Archdeacon*.

124 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 281r (letter of Fr. Valentine, missionary at Varapuzha).

demand[124], but after the violent death[125] of Fr. Eugene[126], the bishop of Kochi was called back to Goa by the order of the government. Thus the diocese of Kochi remained without a bishop from the year 1798.

At this time the Syrian Christians of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor had no bishop to confer the sacraments of confirmation and ordination either in their diocese nor in the suffragan diocese. So they turned to their own bishop[127], Paul Pandari, just arrived from Baghdad[128]. Not knowing of or thinking about the consequences since Mar Pandari was without jurisdiction, the Syrian Christians were glad to get such an occasion to have recourse to their own co-national bishop, which was their years-long desire. But their desires were not fulfilled as he was not allowed to exercise the powers of a bishop; however, he was absolved from the censures and allowed to remain as a bishop *in partibus*[129]. The events took another turn in the year 1799. With the death of Thomas Paremmakkal, the ecclesiastical administrator, on March 19, 1799[130], a series of unpleasant events began resulting in schism[131].

125 It is written that it was a violent death at the house of the bishop of Kochi, (the reason is not stated). See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 281r.

126 Fr. Eugene was a Portuguese Franciscan. See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 281r. See details regarding him in footnote 205.

127 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 281r.

128 Fr. Valentine writes to the Congregation on December 8, 1799: "Si diressero per le Ordinazioni dei preti e per i sacri Oli ad un vescovo della loro nazione, uomo ignorante, e giovane di circa 24 anni, il quale poco prima senza alcuna intesa della S. Sede era stato consecrato da vescovo di Bagdad, Mar Giovanni, archivescovo caldeo, che non aveva sopra di lui alcuna giurisdizione". APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 281r-v. (This letter is found in APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 338r-340v [in Latin]).

129 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 281v. Fr. Valentine wrote that there were many opinions regarding this event. Finally, it was decided to absolve Pandari from the ecclesiastical censures and allow him to celebrate the Holy Mass as a simple priest. But Valentine did not know who had given the order to the vicar general to absolve Pandari. He thought that it might be the apostolic vicar. He was of opinion that nobody had the authority to absolve a bishop other than the Holy See. In support of his view he brought forward the canons of the Council of Trent: session 24, canon 5 and session 13, canon 5 (*sic*). See APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 338v. In the latter case it should be canon 8.

Sessio XXIV, Canon V: Causae criminales graviores contra episcopos, etiam haeresis (quod absit), quae depositione dignae sunt: ab ipso tantum summo Romano pontifice cognoscantur et terminentur. Quodsi eiusmodi sit causa, quae necessario extra Romanam curiam sit committenda: nemini prorsus ea committatur nisi metropolitanis aut episcopis, a beatissimo papa eligendis. ...(TANNER, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 763).

Sessio XIII, Canon VIII: Causae episcoporum (cum pro criminis obiecti qualitate comparere debeant) coram pontifice maximo referantur ac per ipsum terminentur. (TANNER, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 701).

130 APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 193v, 281r.

1.2.3. The schism in course

The death of Paremmakkal turned the situation upside down; it broke all the tranquility then existent in the Malabar Church. The faithful first lost their bishop; later their *governador*. In such a situation, devoid of a head, the unifying element withered, it was decided to congregate the representation of the people in order to discuss and decide how to rule the Church[132]. According to the custom or tradition of representing the Church by the priests of each parish and two laymen from each parish, the community of the Suriani Catholics met together to decide on the future. They decided to elect one among the 12 priests[133] to represent the community as the *governador* of the archdiocese.

Following is the list[134] of these 12 *kathanars*, together with the names of their respective parishes[135]:

Ukken Varghese (Kaliparambu)
Thekkekara Chakkuriathu (Velianad)
Pazhayathil Itticheriathu (Puthenchira)
Cheramel Geevarghese (Chalakudi)
Urumpathu Abraham (Angamaly)
Thachil Abraham (Kuthiathodu)
Kachappillil Ouseph (Chennamangalam)
Muttanthottil Korathu (Pattamana Paravur)

131 See the words of the apostolic vicar, Aloysius Mary: "L'anno seguente poi 1799 fu funetisssima alla povera cristianità soriana; mentre tutte le chiese intieramente caderro in un aperto scisma". APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 55v.

132 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 282r.

133 They have elected one among them as the successor according to the decision made in the *yogam* [meeting of the church representatives]. The *yogam* held just after the death of Paremmakkal came to such a decision based on the decision taken in the *yogam* held on February 2, 1784. The decisions in this *yogam* are the following: "These twelve should work for the spiritual good of the faithful and should live in those places designated by their ecclesiastical head; if anyone of these dies, then the rest should select the twelfth one; the *spogli* should belong to this group and not to the family members of the deceased ones; the parishes should see to the financial needs of these twelve; the advice of the 12 for the good of the faithful should be heard by the ecclesiastical authority". See BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians* 232-233. Thus from the year 1787 these 12 were helping Paremmakkal in the Church administration. Accordingly, after the death of the vicar general, the decision is automatically laid upon the twelve.

There were *palliyogams* [church assemblies constituted of priest and the heads of the families to discuss parish affairs] and *karayogams* [regional assemblies constituted of the priests of the neighboring parishes to discuss inter-parish and local affairs].

134 The list is from BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 232.

135 In brackets are the names of their respective parishes.

Kattakayam Abraham (Pala)
Plathottathil Thoma (Anakkallu)
Illikkal Punnus (Chunkam)
Thekkekkara Kunjicheriathu (Changanasserry)

From among them, Kattakayam Abraham *kathanar*[136] was made the vicar general. Documents differ regarding the election of Abraham *kathanar*. The report of the General Assembly of September 23, 1801, showed that after the death of Paremmakkal some agitated priests, moved by their own interest, turned to one of their leaders, who was very dominant among them, and asked him to recognize and accept as their new bishop Paul Pandari. And the congregated assembly in a church proclaimed Paul Pandari as their new bishop and gave him the necessary orders so that he might be received by all[137]. The letter of Fr. Valentine, Carmelite missionary at Varapuzha, witnessed a different situation: after the death of Paremmakkal the Syrian priests met together to discuss how to govern the churches; supported by a powerful person called Mathu Tharakan they began to take action against and detest the European superiors. They elected Abraham *Malpan* as the governor of their archdiocese to rule their churches in the place of the late Thomas Paremmakkal[138]. Bernard Thoma, basing his information on the local manuscripts, wrote a still different account: Paul Pandari, with the advice of the 12 priests, elected one among them as vicar general in the place of Paremmakkal[139]. The apostolic vicar of Varapuzha, Aloysius Mary, in his letter of August 21, 1801, to the Congregation held another opinion: convinced of the inability and insufficiency of Mar Pandari to govern the churches, those who met at Changanasserry forced him to declare as the governor general one of their important teachers called Abraham *Malpan*[140]. At any rate, the rule of the archdiocese came into the hands of the illegitimate vicar general Abraham *Malpan*[141].

136 He is also called 'Abraham of Palai', since Palai or Pala was his birth place. See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r. He is also called Abraham *Malpan*. See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 282r. *Malpan* means teacher or professor in the seminary or one who gives formation to the priest-students. He was a teacher of Syriac. See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

137 "... essendo morto l'amministratore ecclesiastico insorsero alcuni sacerdoti più inquieti della nazione, e mosi dal proprio interesse indussero uno dei capi principali, e più potenti di dette nazione a riconoscere ed accettare per vescovo della medesima Paolo Abramo Pandari; Essendosi quindi congregati in una chiesa proclamarono il suddetto per nuovo vescovo di Siro Caldei Malabari, diedero gli ordini necesari, perché egli fosse da tutti ricevuto". APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 193v-194r.

138 "Essendo morto il vicario generale di Cranganore, i sacerdorti Siri suddetti si congregarono insieme per trattare del modo di governare quelle chiese; e sostenuti da un prepotente personaggio detto Matthu Tharakan incominciarono a querelare, e detestare i superioi europei.... Quindi elessero per governatore o sia vicario generale in luogo del defunto un sacerdote detto Abramo Malpan per governare tutte quelle nuove chiese". APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 281v-282r.

139 BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 231-232.

It was on April 13, 1799, that the representatives of the churches met in a church at Changanasserry. They recognized Mar Pandari as their bishop[142] and presented some of their clerics to be ordained priest by him. And he did so. On April 22 in a public meeting some other churches, too, in Changanasserry were given him and the particulars of 28 churches[143].

Mar Paul Pandari, although an illegitimate bishop since he was not authorized by Rome to exercise the episcopal powers, could easily exercise the episcopal functions as he was supported by the new vicar general and his faction with a small number of churches. Rebimar, the ecclesiastical governor of Kochi, was of the opinion that it was the right of the prelate of Kochi to administer the archdiocese of Kodungalloor when the vicar general is dead, until a person was nominated by the archbishop of Goa[144]. So he too considered both the act of the election of Kattakayathil Abraham as the vicar general as illegitimate—although for the faithful, otherwise—and also the exercising of the power of Pandari—although outwardly he appeared to be the real, legitimate bishop of Malabar for the Syrians.

When the canonical chapter had given the rule of the Church in the hands of Kattakayathil Abraham *Kathanar*, while all the churches of the Syrian Catholics auto-

140 "... è persuarsi della sua incapacità ed insufficienza per governargli, l'obbligarono di dichiarare per suo governatore uno di principali maestri di soriano per nome Abraham di Palai". See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r. The apostolic vicar was of the opinion that in such a situation (absence of a vicar general) the Syrian Christians should have gone under the jurisdiction of the vicar general of the diocese of Kochi, as it is the nearest prelate until they could be provided with a vicar general from Goa. See APF, *SC IO 1*, ff. 55v-56r.

141 Whether the representatives of the community or Paul Pandari himself elected Abrahm *Malpan* is unimportant for us. From the documents it is clear that after the death of Paremmakkal, the *yogam* of the 12 was held as usual; and in this *yogam* the new vicar general was elected. This was according to the custom of the Church. That they met to discuss Church affairs was right; but what they did was not right, although they had the proper intention and their own just reasons.

142 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56. In the letter of Aloysius Mary to the Congregation we see: "poiché essendo passato a miglior vita il loro governatore Thoma Paremmakkal nelli 19 Marzo ... fintanto che da Goa fosse proveduto vescovado di Cranganore l'altro superiore, addunatesi alcune chiese in Changanasserry alli 13 Aprile riconobbero per loro vescovo Paolo Pandari".

Fr. Hambye writes: "By 13 April, 1799, Mar Paulos Abraham Pandari was present in the area of Changanasserry, since on that day the Thomas Christian parishes of the region acknowledged him as their genuine bishop". HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 86.

143 "... ed in seguito per rendere l'affare più clamoroso e stabile in occasione di una publca adunanza loro il dà alcune chiese attentato in Cianganaceri, fù confermato da altri particolari di 28 chiese". APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

144 The apostolic vicar too held the same opinion. See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 55v.

145 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

matically came under him, only a few declared formal obedience to the new governor general and to the new bishop Mar Pandari. Slowly day-by-day the number of the churches which declared obedience increased. Aloysius Mary in his letter to the Congregation wrote that it came up to 29; thereby, the Christianity in Malabar was divided into three factions: schismatic heretics, pure schismatics [newly made] and Catholics[145]. The report of the General Assembly wrote that the congregated assembly, after having elected the new bishop Mar Pandari and after having given him the necessary orders to govern their churches, seeing that the new bishop was incapable, elected one of the two priests sent from Baghdad by Archbishop Mar John as assistant to the bishop with the title of governor, even though he had been suspended by the vicar general[146]. The report again showed that the majority of the churches did not want to accept the governor, only six, that number too out of fear of the king[147].

1.2.3.1. The reunion of Mar Dionysius I

Another important and interesting event that happened at this time was the temporary reunion of Mar Dionysius I[148] and his followers with the Catholic Church. Since the disastrous rupture in 1665[149] of the Jacobites from the Syrian Catholics, the

146 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 194r. But this information is not correct. Not one among the two sent from Baghdad was made governor but Kattakayathil Abraham *Kathanar*, one of the 12 priests of the canons already elected in 1787 when Thomas Paremmakkal was the governor of Kodungalloor. See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 282r (letter of Fr. Valentine to the Congregation on December 8, 1799); APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r (letter of Aloysius Mary, the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha, to the Congregation on August 27, 1801).

147 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 194v. The letter continues thus: "... ecco è formato lo scisma delle chiese malabariche; ecco un vescovo intruso, inabile e carico di censure, ecco il soggetto mandato da Mar Giovanni per governare 84 chiese".

148 Mar Dionysius I and Mar Thoma [Thomas] VI is the same person. At his episcopal ordination in 1772 Mar Thoma received the name Mar Dionysius. But he also continued to be called Mar Thoma. In many documents both names are given. For example, APF, *Acta 154*, f. 346r. (... *Mar Thomae seu Mar Dionysii*...). His original name is Parambil Joseph (baptismal) or Iyppu (among his friends). He was born at Kuravilangad, Pala. See PAULINUS, *India Orientalis*, 109; APF, *SC IOC 40*, f. 363v (... qui vocatur Euppo seu Joseph, sed communiter se nominat specioso titulo Mar Thoma). Mar Dionysius I was considered to have been consecrated bishop twice (in the years 1761 and 1772). From the day of his reconsecration Mar Thomas VI governed the diocese for 37 years; and being a man of considerable influence and administrative capacity, he is referred to as Dionysius the Great. In 1796 he consecrated Mattam Ramban as Mar Thomas VII. He died in the year 1808.

Some writers speak about a reconsecration of Mar Thomas VI in 1772 from Mar Gregorios of the Syrian Orthodox Church. Cyril Malancharuvil states that Mar Dionysius I himself acknowledged that his consecration in 1761 was null and void as Mar Thomas V, who had consecrated him, had no valid consecration himself. And that in 1772 all the Holy Orders were conferred on him anew right from the beginning. See MALANCHARUVIL, *Syro-Malankara Church*, 38. He refers to the letter of Mar Thomas VI to Pope on May 12, 1778; See APF, *SO IOC 39*, f. 11r. Fr. Soledado, the then ecclesiastical Governor of Kochi and Kodungalloor, clearly acknowledged that Mar Dionysius I was a validly consecrated bishop.

heads[150] of the schismatic group showed their desire and at times tried for reunion[151]. It was the last of a series of efforts[152] on the part of Mar Dionysius[153] for reunion.

Mar Dionysius who did not forget all the blows which he had received from the diverse experience of futile attempts and well-aware of the impossibility of reunion[154] that was wished, favoured and willed by the Church leaders, tried once more either

See the report of Fr. Soledado in APF, *SOCG 867*, f. 135v. Placid J. Podipara is of the opinion that all prelates from Thomas I till Thomas IX were related to one another. See PODIPARA, *Die St. Thomas Christen*, 281.

149 After the revolt of 1653 only a few hundred out of the approximate total strength of 200,000 Christians remained on the side of Archbishop Garcia. Four months after the revolt the archdeacon, the leader of the community, assumed the title 'Mar Thoma' and got 'ordained bishop' by 12 priests. Ten years later, that is, in 1663 Mar Thoma was excommunicated. In 1665 Mar Gregorios of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch arrived in Malabar and Mar Thoma's faction accepted him. See CHEDIATH, *Churches in Kerala*, 64-65.

150 The head of the Jacobite group was called *Mar Thoma* [Thomas]; thus their first bishop was Mar Thomas I.

151 See APF *CP 109*, ff. 53v-56v (about the efforts of Mar Thomas III), 67v-68v (regarding Mar Thomas IV), 7r-14r; APF *Acta* 127, ff. 290r-300r (about Mar Thomas V).

152 Mar Dionysius made many attempts to be reunited to the Catholic Church. His first attempts were through the apostolic vicar Msgr. Florence, through the archbishop of Kodungalloor Salvador dos Reis, through the apostolic visitor Laurence Justiniani and then again through the apostolic vicar Msgr. Francis Sales. See the details in KOLLAPARAMBIL, *Mar Dionysius the Great*, 151-184. The second attempt was through Mar Joseph Cariattil and Thomas Paremmakkal. Although this attempt was carried on for many years, it did not bear fruit. The journey of Mar Cariattil and Paremmakkal to Europe and their visit to the Queen of Portugal (their petition to the Queen is seen in: APF, *SC IOC 36*, f. 186r) and then with Pope Pius VI (their different petitions to the Pope are found in: APF, *SC IOC 39*, ff. 6-21; APF, *SOCG 867*, ff. 129-132, 145-147); as well as the favourable and encouraging attitude of Pope and the different steps taken by the Congregation in favour of the reunion were all milestones in the history of the Malabar Church. The adverse attitude of the Carmelites (for the report of Bishop Charles of St. Konrad on April 26, 1781 see APF, *SOCG 867*, ff. 177-178) who were the absolutist rulers of the Syrian Catholics of Malabar and the little interest of Bishop Emmanuel and of Soledade of Kochi (for the report of Fr. José da Soledade, the ecclesiastical governor of Kochi and Kodungalloor, to Bishop Emmanuel on January 16 [later to the Congregation] see APF, *SOCG 867*, ff. 154-161) in admitting Mar Dionysius, who might possibly become a threat to the Padroado authority by demanding all the Syrians to be under him, as they held,--although the Padroadists considered it a good chance to oust the Propaganda jurisdiction from Malabar--threw the reunion effort in the air.

153 As he was born of Catholic parents and was brought up in a healthy Catholic environment, he had always an aptitude for the Catholic Church. See APF, *SC IOC 39*, f. 9r (Mar Cariattil to Pope Pius VI), APF, *SOCG* 899, f. 236 (letter of Archbishop Emmanuel of Goa in 1792). But with the pressure of his maternal uncle, Mar Thomas V he became a priest in the Jacobite Church (see AGOCD *293b*) and was later made a bishop. See APF, *SOCP 54*, f. 77 (letter of Msgr. Florence in 1762).

154 In a pro memoria submitted to the Propaganda Fide, Cariattil and Paremmakkal exposed the sad experiences of Mar Thoma in his reunion attempts. See APF, *SOCG 849*, ff. 149r-151v. And in the General Assembly of Propaganda Fide held on May 17, 1784, Cardinal Ghillini gave a clear summary of this. See APF, *Acta 154*, f. 312v.

willingly or by forced circumstances[155], exploiting the peculiar situation in Malabar. The sees in Malabar[156] without pastors might have helped Mar Dionysius to reach such a decision. Whether the initiative was from the illegitimate bishop Mar Pandari or from the unauthorized vicar general Kattakayathil Abraham or from Mar Dionysius himself is not clear.

1.2.3.1.1. The procedure

As things went on in this way, new bishop Pandari thought that he could receive Mar Dionysius and his group into the Catholic Church. With such an intention the representatives of the Jacobites headed by Mar Dionysius and the representatives of the 'Catholics' headed by Mar Pandari met in the Holy Cross Church at Alappuzha [Alleppy] and signed an agreement on May 20, 1799[157]. After a briefing of the situation in Malabar and the deplorable situation caused by the schism in the Syrian community, they came to the following conclusion:

> Now we of both parties unitedly agree on oath to be united as were our forefathers[158], and to submit ourselves to the Holy Father the Pope, celebrating the Mass, reciting the breviary, observing the fasts and other rites as they were prescribed by the Synod of Diamper and to inform the Holy Father the Pope accordingly, with a view to obtaining his permission to conduct all ceremonies according to the Syro-Chaldean rite of those who are in union with the Holy Roman Church. Moreover, we agree that those who accepted and at present retain the Jacobite creed and rites shall abjure them and make the profession of faith prescribed by Pope Urban VIII for the Orientals and submit to the orders of His Holiness the Pope....[159]

155 Aloysius Mary held the view that Mar Dionysius and his group were forced to be reunited to the body of the nation (he meant 'the Syrian Catholics') because of the royal oppression and, thereby, to surmount the anxeities. See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

156 As we have seen already in the year the diocese of Kochi remained without a bishop since Soledade had to resign his office. The see of Kodungalloor from 1786 was without a bishop and from March 19, 1799, without even a vicar general.

157 See KOLLAPARAMBIL, *Mar Dionysius the Great*, 185-186.

158 Till 1653 they were one community, the one community of the St. Thomas Christians.

159 KOLLAPARAMBIL, *Mar Dionysius the Great*, 186 (Fr. Kollaparambil took this information from a copy of the document in Malayalam kept in the archives of Mannanam monastery (no. 1442, 1-3) as quoted by JOSEPH, *Thachil Mathu Tharakan*, 233-235. An English translation of this document is given in GEORGE, *The Catholicity of the St. Thomas Christians*, 19-21.

160 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56. Note what is written by the apostolic vicar Aloysius Mary: "...e perciò fare colla più celebre sollenità fù determinato il 11 Giugno nel quale giorno addunati i soriani nella chiesa di Tattampally, vecchii e nuovi scismatici, più comicamente che piamente il Mar Thoma fece in mano del vescovo e sacerdote di Baghdad e nuovo governatore la Professione di Fede di Urbano VIII prescritta, protesta di ricevere il Concilio Odiyamper". So considered, the two parties there met as the 'old' (of Mar Dionysius) and the 'new' (of Mar Pandari) heretics.

After having prepared the declaration and the profession of faith, Mar Dionysius with a few followers according to the prescribed formula which they already had prepared, on June 11, 1799, formally embraced the Catholic faith at St. Michael's Church, Thathampally, before Bishop Pandari and declared the acceptance of the Synod of Udayamperoor (Diamper)[160]. Then Mar Pandari, in the name of Archbishop John Hormez, absolved Mar Dionysius from ecclesiastical censures. This was followed by a solemn Mass celebrated by the reunited prelate according to the rite prescribed by the Synod of Udayamperoor[161]. All this was concluded with a public document, rendering Mar Dionysius' faction to pay[162] a sum of 30,000[163] Rupees to the Thiruvithamkoor government, in case he might go against the decision[164], i.e., if he should not persevere in the Catholic faith.

Here we read "Mar Thomas declared the acceptance of the Synod of Udayamperoor". It is interesting to note this phrase, since the main accusation of the missionaries against Mar Thoma when he wanted to be reunited to the Catholic Church fifteen years back was that "It is true that he [Mar Thoma] is willing to become a Catholic; but he wants it in a way that pleases him, i.e., he is not prepared to accept the Synod of Udayamperoor" (This text is taken from a copy of a manuscript written in Malayalam from PAREMMAKKAL GOVERNADOR, *Diary, Description of the voyage of Mar Joseph Metropolitan to Rome, 1778-1786*, [Malayalam], part I, Athirampuzha 1936, [quoted in THALIATH, *Synod of Diamper*, 159]).

161 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

162 It was a general practice of the time in Malabar to pay a sum of money to the government when making public contracts [pecuniary sanction]. We find a similar case in the year 1789 when the Jacobite churches declaring allegiance to Mar Dionysius, at the arrival of Mar Cyril in Thiruvithamkoor in 1789. See APF, *SC IOC 39*, f. 223v (letter of Bishop Aloysius on March 3, 1790: "... e di tutto ciò fù fatto un publico istrumento... segnato da tutti i deputati delle chiese scismatiche, aggiungendovi, che se alcuno facesse cosa alcuna contraria alle dette determinazioni, se soggetevano alla penitenza pecuniaria, che dal rè gli sarebbe stata imposta".

163 Fr. Placid J. Podipara and Fr. Jacob Kollaparambil say that this amount is 30,000 Rupees, whereas Aloysius Mary, the apostolic vicar, writes 'a considerable amount'. See PODIPARA, *The Efforts for Reunion*, 92; KOLLAPARAMBIL, *Mar Dionysius the Great*, 186; APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

164 As Fr. Placid held, "Among other things, this particular condition has been the subject of special comment on the intention of Mar Dionysius I. Some say that the sum of money in question was a debt he had contracted with the Thiruvithamkoor government and that Thachil Mathu by his influence made the king condone the debt, declaring Mar Dionysius liable to pay it up only if he abandoned the Catholic Church. Others say that Mathew Thachil, after making Mar Dionysius a debtor, forced him to become a Catholic. Yet others say that the latter sought an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, hoping he could rule over the Catholic Syrians who were not then on good terms with their Latin authorities", PODIPARA, *The Efforts for Reunion*, 92. See also KOLLAPARAMBIL, *Mar Dionysius the Great*, 186-187. The basis of this condition is not relevant for our purpose as it was the custom of the time to add such a clause to the public contracts. As Fr. Jacob Kollaparambil writes: "the mere remittance of a debt cannot be said to have been the motive behind this act for which Mar Dionysius had been working for not less than 35 long years", KOLLAPARAMBIL, *Mar Dionysius the Great*, 187.

It is to be noted that this reunion, which could be considered as the epilogue to all the reunion attempts of Dionysius I with the good intention[165] of retaining the Syrian community as one fold, was not a legitimate one since there was no legitimate Church authority behind it. The representative heads of the so-called Catholic section, Mar Pandari and Kattakayathil Abraham, were not the legitimate persons or authorities to receive a non-Catholic group to the Catholic faith and were authorized by Rome neither through the apostolic vicar nor through the governor general of Kodungalloor nor through the prelate of the neighbouring diocese of Kochi. After the formal reunion at Thattampally the pseudo-vicar general with another *Malpan* came to the apostolic vicar, Aloysius Mary, to inform him of the happenings and asked him to inform the Holy See[166]. The apostolic vicar gave no ear to their request. So their presumption of being/living Catholics was against their conscience, although outwardly they were merged into the 'body of the nation', i.e., appeared Catholics to the co-national.

1.2.3.1.2. Again to schism

But their 'success' did not last long[167]. Since a new vicar general was appointed by this time in Kodungalloor the pseudo-vicar general Kattakayathil had no reason to exist in his office. Therefore, Mar Pandari automatically lost his medium of influence among the people. In the same year Mathu Tharakan fell into disgrace with the Thiruvithamkoor government[168]. Thus one after another the supporters of Mar Dionysius lost their influential stands. Mar Dionysius could then understand that what he had accomplished at Thattampally had no meaning at all, owing to the lack of competency of the presumed heads of the Church who had received him into the Catholic Church. Mar Dionysius also could not find anyone from the Latin authorities of the Catholic

165 The intention of Mar Thoma was genuine and a long-cherished one. It is clear from the petition of Mar Thoma to Pope Pius VI (directed through Mar Cariattil): "Several times I earnestly requested and prayed with sighs through the presbyters of the Orthodox faith [Catholic bishops], Msgr. Salvador dos Reis, the metropolitan of Kodungalloor, and Florence of Jesus, the bishop of Aeropolis and apostolic vicar of Malabar and Kochi, to aggregate me with all my people to the unity of the body of the Catholic Church by giving absolution from the excommunication that has fallen on us since the time of our forefathers, and if they were unable to do this, to send my petition to the apostolic ses of Rome. But they refused and kept away". See PAREMMAKKAL, *Varthamanapusthakam*, 139-141.

166 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r. See the words of Aloysius Mary: "Gloriosi e triumfanti per si nobile ed irreglare conquista ritornarono alle loro case; e senza vergogna il novo pseudo governatore con altro principale maestro dei Soriani mi parteciparono il da loro operato per darne parte alla S. Sede, al che mi riservai di rispondergli".

167 Il fatto però fù che solo pochi giori durò il loro trionfo. APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

168 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r. See the then political situation in chapter 4, p. 229.

side well-disposed to promote his cause[169]. Keenly aware of his uncertain status and futile position and the inertia of his supporters, in December in the same year [1799] i.e., after six months of Catholic life he reverted again to the former schism[170] after paying the government the accorded stipulation[171]. Before being reinstated in the former office, as a penance he had to celebrate 40 Masses at his own expense[172]. So was the pithful end of the long-cherished years' attempted endeavour of reunion with the Catholic Church[173]. Returning to the former schism, frustrated the efforts, with an intention anyway to ameliorate the situation of their Church, thinking it better not to turn again to the Jacobite patriarch[174] Mar Dionysius turned to the Church Missionary Society[175], which with the influence of the British in Thiruvithamkoor was advancing the Catholics of Malabar.

1.2.4. Schism in extinction

In the meantime the archbishop of Goa sent to Malabar Fr. Aloysius of St. Joseph[176], a Franciscan, as governor or vicar general of the diocese of Kochi[177]. As the

169 See KOLLAPARAMBIL, *Mar Dionysius the Great*, 188. Although the Padroado authorities once thought of making use of Mar Dionysius to vent the Propagandists, they were not well-disposed to support them or receive them, fearing the possible chance of losing all the Syrians from their jurisdiction. The Propagandists were also little interested in such things.

170 Already in the year 1796 Mar Dionysius had consecrated his nephew as his successor, but was not installed metropolitan. The flock passively waited to see results of the reunion without asking mar Dionysius to install the new bishop metropolitan nor to call the bishop of Anjoor to lead them. They were hoping to see their success crowned.

171 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

172 Fr. Placid says: "He was reinstated in office by the twelve priests who after saying Mass for forty days imposed their hands on them". PODIPARA, *The Efforts for Reunion*, 92. Fr. Kollaparambil says: " His flock received him wholeheartedly, and reinstated him in office after a voluntary penance of attending Masses said at his expense for forty days". KOLLAPARAMBIL, *Mar Dionysius the Great*, 188. Aloysius Mary writes: "Mar Thoma coi suoi seguaci, ritornò ai suoi antici scismatici, quali peraltro non vollero riconoscerlo se non dopo d'aver fatto una publica penitenza di udire per quaranta giorni una messa sottenne da farsi celebrare alle spese di detto Mar Thoma". APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

173 There are historians who say that Mar Dionysius abandoned the Catholic Church since the bishop of Kochi would not recognize him as bishop. See PODIPARA, *The Efforts for Reunion*, 92.

174 He showed no inclination to the Jacobite patriarch. Once he even drove from Malabar a certain Dioscorus who had come to collect alms. See PODIPARA, *The Efforts for Reunion*, 92.

175 Their union with the Anglicans, although it gave them material prosperity and cultural progress, affected their faith badly even causing many splits in the community.

176 His full name is Aloysius of St. Joseph de Rebimar [Ribamar]. In some documents he was called only Rebimar.

schism was advancing according to the news he received from the Syrians, Rebimar decided to write a circular letter to both the dioceses of Kochi and Kodungalloor. He instructed the Syrians not to communicate with the schismatics adhering to the intruder bishop Pandari and the illegitimate vicar general Abraham of Pala in matters of religion[178]. At the beginning of the year 1800 he was given the order to install a governor for the archdiocese of Kodungalloor[179]. As the archbishop did not know the possible eligible priests among the Syrian Catholics, he sent to the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha a patent 'in white' [blank] so that the best one could be elected. Accordingly, the representatives of all the churches of the Syrian Catholics met at the Holy Cross Church at Alappuzha (Alleppy), discussed the matter and decided to present Fr. Aloysius a list from which to appoint an administrator for them in Kodungalloor containing four names. The apostolic vicar accepted this list. The following were the four priests:

Sankoorikal ~~Geev~~arghese
Thottakattu Chako Kuriathu
Thachil Abraham[180]
Plathottathil Thoma

From among them Sankoorikal Geevarghese [George][181] was appointed as the administrator of Kodungalloor, an appointment approved by the archbishop of Goa[182]. Thus the Syrian Catholics were again given a native administrator to rule them, whom they received joyfully. Thus the decision of the archbishop to give a vicar general finally bore fruit, leading to the extinction of schism from Malabar. Being satisfied of the same, Aloysius Mary wro~~te~~:

177 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 282v. Fr. Bernard Thoma says that Fr. Aloysius was appointed also as the vicar general of Kodungalloor. See BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 238.

178 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r. But Mar John in his letter of October 20, 1800, to the Congregation wrote that it was the Carmelite apostolic vicar who wrote the circular letter suspending Mar John, Mar Pandari and those who supported him. And he had a copy of the same (written in Portuguese) with him. See APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 284r-v. As it is in Portuguese it is possible that it was written by the vicar general of Kochi who was a Portuguese Franciscan, and not by the Carmelite apostolic vicar.

179 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r; APF, *Acta 168*, f. 282v.

180 Thachil Abraham *Kathanar* was the brother of Mathu Tarakan, the lay leader of the Suriani Catholics.

181 He was a student in the Propaganda College. See the *Catalogo degli Alunni dell' Urbano Collegio di Propaganda Fide per l'anno 1783*, in APF, *CU SC 10*, ff. 314r-315r. There we read: "Giorgo Giangurichelle, di Gnarchel nel Malabar, età 16, Rito Syro, studente di philosofia, ingresso al collegio 24 Maggio 1777".

182 This appointment was according to the power granted to the archbishop of Goa by Rome to appoint vicar generals or administrators in the diocese of Kochi or in the archdiocese of Kodungalloor when these sees remained vacant.

> In the beginning of the year [1800] there came from Goa the order to appoint Fr. George Sankoorikal the new ecclesiastical governor of Kodungalloor.... It consoled me thinking that since the new governor was of their nation and of their rite it would lead the new schismatics to be reunited to the Catholic Church.... I appreciate his particular ability. *Nemo propheta acceptus est in patria sua* Before taking charge of the office he came to me to know about my opinion, whether he could render obedience to the archbishop of Goa. I replied to him that, since the nation had an ecclesiastical superior of the nation, in order to avoid further disorders it would be right to render obedience to the archbishop as his present ordinary[183].

1.2.4.1. Seeking the help of the state

The new vicar general wanted to get the support of the state authorities, as well[184]. He thought it might help the Christians to have a peaceful existence and for him a tranquil rule. He could also get the promise of help from the English Resident at Kochi[185]. The Resident allowed Sankoorikal the free exercise of his office and the Christians the right to have recourse to the Resident in matters of religion. Then the English Resident wrote to both the kings of Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi informing the same. However, they did not give any answer. The king of Kochi wrote to the new governor to stay in the church near to his palace, and to the Christians to take the new vicar general as their superior if they would like[186]. The vicar general Aloysius Mary wrote:

> But the poor governor for one and a half months stayed in that church, and he could not go to his proper house because of his ill-health and therefore, could not rule the archdiocese and the Christians who came to him freely. So he substituted with one priest and gave him the powers. It made

183 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r, "Nel principio dell'anno scorso 1800, venne da Goa ordine di installare per governatore ecclesiastico di Cranganore Don Girgo Sankurical, alunno della S. Congregazione, il che mi consolo sperando che l'aver ottenuto altro nuovo governatorre del loro nazione e rito indurrebbe i novi scismatici ad unirsi a cattolici. sento del suo genio singolare. *Nemo propheta acceptus est in patria sua*.... Prima che si portasse per esser installato governatore di Cranganore si portò da me per sentire il mio parere su di ciò e se potere rendere ubbidienza all'arcivescovo di Goa... di aver dato in scritto il giuramento di fedeltà".

184 The Syrians in Malabar were always being protected by the state. They were considered the part of the body of the nation (*il corpo della nazione*). That is why the schismatics were considered the illegitimate faction and incurred a pecuniary sanction. Thus it was necessary to get recognized by the state when a new superior came into power; and here in this situation all the more necessary since the Syrians had formally been considered schismatic, i.e., out of the nation, because of the illegitimate heads in the offices of vicar general and bishop.

185 That was the time of the entry of the English power in Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi states. See the details in chapter 4, pp. 230-232.

186 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

> him [apostolic vicar] wonder as there was no special care rendered to him by the Christians in such a distress[187].

With the appointment of the new vicar general the things took a new turn in Malabar, not only on the ecclesiastical level but also on the social. With the appointment of the new vicar general, Mathu Tharakan, who supported the other faction, had to choose his obedience between the two. Soon after the appointment Mathu Tharakan without any difficulty decided to declare his support for the new vicar general of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor[188]. Such a decision on his part was not difficult as he already had in hand what he stood for, i.e., not to place the Church under a foreign ruler but under a native one[189]. As he declared his support to the new vicar general, the churches[190] which followed the illegitimate bishop supported by Mathu Tharakan followed. Mar Pandari thereby had to yield. Kattakayathil Abraham *Kathanar*, pulsing the situation and knowing that his position was not according to the Holy See, thought it better to accept the new vicar general[191]. Mar Thoma, who came into the Catholic Church, revoked his oath and again remained schismatic[192]. Regarding the same Fr. Valentine wrote:

187 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r. Note the words of Aloysius Mary: "Perloche il povero governatore già da un anno e mezzo ritrovasi in detta chiesa senza poter andar alla sua propria casa cagionevole la salute senza poter governar l'arcivescovato, ne i cristiani ad esso liberamente ricorrere; E solo per rimediare alla meglio ha sostituito altro sacerdote secondo i poteri ricevuti; Ed in tali angustie da cristiani particolar diligenza non è stata praticata per liberarlo, il che mi fa sorprendere".

188 Fr. Valentine in his letter to Propaganda wrote that a priest called Ittira Chatenar [*Kathanar]*, brother of Mathu Tharakan, was elected the new vicar general. (See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 282v). Here Fr. Valentine made a mistake in saying that the new vicar general was the brother of Mathu Tarakan, for the new vicar general was Fr. Sankoorikal, who had no relation to Mathu Tarakan. Valentine confused Kattakayathil Abraham *Kathanar*, the previous vicar general, with the new one whom Mathu Tarakan supported. However, in the list of four candidates from which the new one should be elected given by the apostolic vicar to the vicar general of Kochi, there was the name of the brother of Mathu Tharakan, who was called Thachil Abraham Kathanar. See BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 238.

189 Such an intention of Tharakan induced him to take such measures, even illegitimate. Fr. Valentine in his letter to the Congregation wrote otherwise: "Fù dunque prescelto il sacerdote Ittira Chatenar [*Kathanar]* fratello del magnate Matto Taragen [Mathu Tharakan]; ma dopo pochi giorni temendo egli di perdere le sue sostanze, e la grazia del fratello, il quale aveva fatto costituire per vicario generale D. Abramo Malpan, rinunzio all' impiego, e si gettò con tutte le 42 chiese nel partito del fratello". APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 282v-283r.

190 Letter of Fr. Valentine says they were forty two. See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 283r.

191 Fr. Bernard Thoma says that Abraham *Kathanar* accepted the office as vicar general since he was a very good friend of Mathu Tharakan. But when he [Abraham *Kathanar*] understood that any office unless given by the Holy See was not right and thereby he would incur schism and it would endanger his salvation, he thought it best to revert and accept the new vicar general. See BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 238.

192 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 283r. Fr. Valentine wrote: "Mar Thoma rivocò il giuramento prestato, tornò al suo paese; gli altri poi rimassero senza pastore aspettando che l'archvescovo di Goa lo dia loro".

> Tharakan turned again to the grace of the king; and the archbishop of Goa confirmed the election of the new vicar general in the person of Ittira Kathanar. Whoever might be the vicar general, he cannot reconstruct and pacify the churches; so great is the discrepancy and the depravity which reigns among the Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar[193].

1.3. Post-schism period

To the glory of the Catholic Church and to the joy of the Syrians of Malabar the schism came to an end after a short duration. The rule of the Syrians again came into their hands. Since during the time of schism the churches of the Suriani Christians were divided in three jurisdictions of Padroado, Propaganda and Chaldean (Pandari). When the new vicar general was appointed, it was his duty to bring all the churches of the Syrians solely under him, i.e., in the archdiocese of Kodungalloor.

By this time the order from the Congregation of Propaganda Fide regarding Bishop Pandari reached Malabar. The faithful of the nation were so informed. The apostolic vicar was given the following reasons for the suspension of Mar Pandari:[194]

1. He nominated a governor to rule the Church without the order of the Holy See.
2. He celebrated Holy Mass only with wine and without a Host.
3. He did not keep the decor of his status.

The apostolic vicar wrote that he was told not to make further publicity, thinking to put a good end to the current disorders and not to create more. About the further happenings he wrote:

> Unexpectedly Mar Pandari came to me. I received him with all possible charity. And I told him not to worry too much about the irregular steps and the scandals; to be willingly subjected to the orders of the Holy See and thereby to do what is possible to remedy them[195].

193 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 283r, "... che il Tarakan sia tornato in grazia del Re, e che il arcivescovo di Goa abbia confermata l'elezione del vicario generale fatta in persona del sacerdote Ittira Cattenar. Qualunque sia il vicario generale, che non potra mai ricomporre e pacificare quelle chiese; tanto è la discordia e la depravazione che regna fra i siro caldei del Malabar".

194 Aloysius Mary in his letter to the Congregation on August 27, 1801, states these reasons. See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r. See the words of Aloysius Mary: "Lui ha nominato un governatore, celebrato la Messa col solo latice senza Hostia e per non conservare il suo decoro di suo stato".

195 APF, *SC IO 1*, ff. 56r-v, "Quando all'improviso mi si presento detto vescovo. Io l'accolsi colla possibile carità ... con soggetarsi volontariamente agli ordini della S. Sede, e che ciò facendo a tutto si potrebbe rimedio".

The apostolic vicar expressed his joy of seeing a good end to the happenings in Malabar; he was all the more happy that Mar Pandari came to him as a sign of obedience[196]. He informed Propaganda that:

> He came to know that a few days after their meeting Mar Pandari was seen in the seminary of the Syrians; it consoled him much. He fled to the mountains. He was then seen in a church. He was being absolved and brought to celebrate the Mass. Bereft of his followers, he went from place to place to find a settlement[197].

1.3.1. Further settlements

Although it was a schism that lasted for a very short time, the problems occurred thereby were many. During the time of the schism the Syrians were in three groups: under the illegitimate vicar general of Kodungalloor (Pandari faction), under Mar Thoma (newly-reunited to Catholicism), under the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha[198]. When Kattakayathil was made the vicar general of Kodungalloor by the canonical chapter of the twelve, all the churches did not come under the authority of new vicar general[199]. The remaining legitimate part went automatically to the apostolic vicar[200]. Mar Thomas and his followers remained Catholic for only a few months; then they became Jacobites again. Other Syrian Catholics stayed under the apostolic vicar. Although during the time of Paremmakkal all the Thomas Christians came under Kodungalloor, after his death they were divided once more because of the schism, i.e., some churches under the apostolic vicar (those who did not declare obedience to Kattakayathil) and the rest of the Syrians under the vicar general of Kodungalloor. Even after the schism, those who had already gone to the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha remained so.

196 Fr. Bernard Thoma writes that it was on January 4, 1802, that Mar Pandari left [reverted] the position of bishop. He went to the apostolic vicar in Varapuzha and declared obedience to him. The apostolic vicar assured him living expenses. See BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 239.

197 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56v, "...seppi essersi portato nel seminario de soriani, il che mi consolo; passato però alcuni fuggi ai monti ed in una chiesa trovo un sacerdote nuovo scismatico che lo assolse, e tornò a celebrare ... il che va andando luogo a luogo fin tanto che si possa porre più stabile sistema".

198 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

199 Describing the schism Fr. Valentine wrote that among the 62 churches in Thiruvithamkoor 42 were under the apostolic vicar according to the earlier law; and it was not difficult to unite to the same the 25 churches which were in the kingdom of Kochi. His words show that 20 churches in Thiruvithamkoor were under the new vicar general. See APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 282r-v. The report of the General assembly of March 30, 1801 indicated that only six churches accepted the new bishop [new faction]. See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 194r.

200 See BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 288.

In such an anomalous situation there came a ruling from the Thiruvithamkoor government[201], removing all the impediments and discords caused by the present situation and allowing the Syrians to choose either Padroado or Propaganda as they had been earlier. Those remained with the apostolic vicar could either remain with him or should return to Kodungalloor. Accordingly, the Thiruvithamkoor government on July 5, 1800, announced two Royal Declarations[202]:

> 1. to the Syrian Catholics of Malabar, enabling them to choose freely either the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha (Propaganda) or the governor of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor (Padroado) in the matter of religion until they were provided with a proper bishop.
>
> 2. to the governor of Kodungalloor and to the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha telling them to assist the Syrian Christians, his [king of Thiruvithamkoor] subjects, who come to them as was earlier.

Consecutive with these declarations the church at Angamaly wrote to all the churches in Thiruvithamkoor and in Kochi that they would accept the decree with the good hope, and the church at Angamaly with some other churches declared their allegiance to the apostolic vicar[203]. Thus came into existence the system that prevailed before 1786, i.e., before the appointment of Mar Cariattil as archbishop of Kodungalloor for all the Syrians.

1.4. Conflict between the apostolic vicar and the vicar general

The peculiar situation in Malabar, i.e., the one Catholic community under two jurisdictions, a community under two different political regimes, which causes problem on the ecclesiastical level[204]. Each jurisdiction, with its timely demands ascertaining its

201 See the then rulers in Kerala in chapter 4, p. 230.

202 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56v.

203 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56v. Note the words of Aloysius Mary: "Coerentemente a detti Reggi Ordini dalla chiesa d'Angamaly sono state participate tutte le chiese soriane tanto del Re Travancore che Re di Cochino, quale si spera che anch' Esso accondische a far il medesimo; E già la prima chiesa d'Angamaly con altre differenti communità spontaneamente si sono a me venute e soggettate, e molte altre stanno per far il medesimo".

204 Since some Syrian churches are in the reign of Kochi (different from the Thiruvithamkoor king) there sometimes arose disputes with regard to the limits of the two dioceses of Kochi (for the Latins) and Kodungalloor (for the Syrians). The vast majority of persons in Kodungalloor comes under the territory of Kochi. So the existence of two dioceses in the same region caused many problems with regard to the territorial limits of the diocese of Kochi and Kodungalloor. In the year 1797, displeased with the existing situations, the bishop of Kochi as a protest against the ecclesiastical governor of Kodungalloor put a notice at the door of a Syrian church accusing the governor of incurring censures. The interference of the archbishop of Goa was the solution. For more details see APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 55v.

rights and patronage over the churches, caused problems not only between the two jurisdictions of Padroado and Propaganda[205] but also between the faithful of the two rites (Latin and Syrian) in the same jurisdiction—inter-jurisdictional and intra-jurisdictional. After the schism the state decided to give the churches choice of obedience, in fact, to make thing worse, the problem was between the ecclesiastical heads of the two jurisdictions. Although it was the right of the Syrian Catholics to be under the head in their see of Kodungalloor according to the age-old tradition, Propaganda represented by the apostolic vicar in the person of Aloysius Mary wanted to take to this jurisdiction as many churches as possible. This situation caused conflict between the vicar general George Sankoorikal and the apostolic vicar Aloysius Mary. On August 22, 1801, Sankoorikal wrote a letter to the apostolic vicar. The letter explained that:

> It was not right that the apostolic vicar was trying to draw more Syrian churches to the apostolic vicariate. So he [vicar general of Kodungalloor] prohibited him from receiving more to his obedience and subjection[206].

The apostolic vicar sought the justification for his act of taking the Syrian churches to him in decisions and the measures adopted by the Congregation of Propaganda after the examination of the *Padiyola* made at Angamaly[207]. See the words of Aloysius Mary:

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205 These jurisdictional problems were often not only with regard to the Syrian churches under two jurisdictions in Malabar but also between the two jurisdictions in Malabar, i.e., between the diocese of Kochi and the apostolic vicariate of Varapuzha with regard to the Latin churches in the apostolic vicariate since there were both Syrian and Latin churches under the apostolic vicariate. At the beginning of the year 1798 there arose a great dispute with regard to the Latin churches under the apostolic vicariate of Varapuzha. The then bishop of Kochi wrote to the Dutch Commissioner of Kochi to allow him to take possession of the Latin churches at that time under the apostolic vicariate of Kochi. The commissioner wrote to the apostolic vicar of the same. Both argued on the ground of ancient practices (customs). The situation grew worse when the bishop of Kochi wrote to the church of Vaipin and to all the Latin churches under the apostolic vicariate forbidding them to go to the apostolic vicar in spiritual matters but to the bishop of Kochi. The problem became quiet only with the tragic death of Fr. Eugene (a Portuguese Franciscan) and with the consequent deposition of the bishop. The situation changed greatly with the coming (in December 1799) of the next administrator of Kochi. For more details with regard to this dispute between the bishop of Kochi and the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha see APF, *SC IO 1*, ff. 55r-v.

206 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56v. The apostolic vicar says that this letter was based on false suppositions. In the letter to Propaganda the apostolic vicar wrote: " He [vicar general] was also thanking me for the helps rendered for the cease of schism [past events]. So his letter helped me to know where I stand". APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56v.

207 The Angamaly *Padiyola* was written on February 2, 1784. (*Padiyola* is the handwritten document of the decisions taken in the meeting).

> The act of taking the Syrian churches to my obedience was in conformity with the decisions made and the measures taken by the Congregation after having examined the *Padiyola* made at Angamaly. So this guided me in my actions till this time[208].

Although at the beginning they were on good terms, later the apostolic vicar had complaints against him. He wrote to the Congregation:

> Not content of the same he [vicar general] wrote to the churches of the Syrians telling them to accept him only; and not to receive or go to another prelate. So again he was against me whom he had to help and should be of assistance[209].

1.5. The General Assembly of Propaganda Fide on March 30 and September 23, 1801

The General Assembly of Propaganda met on March 30, 1801, to discuss the situation in Malabar. Gerdil, Borgia, Antonelli, Vincenti, De Lorenzana and Pinuccini were the cardinals present at the Assembly[210]. The Assembly discussed the matters presented in the letters of Mar John Hormez, the administrator of the Chaldean patriarchate, which he sent to the Congregation together with the extract of the letter from Malabar. In his letters he narrated the grave problems in Malabar; the scandals and the disorders caused by the Carmelite missionaries; the need for a native bishop for the Syrian Catholics of Malabar, and the reason he consecrated and sent Pandari to Malabar[211]. The Assembly also took into consideration the information collected by Fr. Paulinus of S. Bartholomeo, who was charged to make a report on the Chaldeans of Malabar. On the basis of all these reports the following considerations were taken into account by the Assembly[212]:

208 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56v, "... le decisioni e misure prese dalla Sacra Congregazione ... esaminata che fù la *Padiyola* fatta in Angamale".

209 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56v, "E di ciò non contento Esso scrisse una lettera ad Angamaly per mandarla a tutte le chiese... e di non riconoscere e ricorrere ad altro prelato".

210 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 182r. The theme of the Assembly was: 'come si debba provvedere a quelle Cristianità Siro-Caldei (del Malabar) ed alla pretesa loro independenza dai missionari latini'. See ACO, *Ponenze 1 (Caldei)*, f. 36.

211 See the details in the letters of Mar Hormez written on November 21, 1796 (APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 363r-v); on November 25, 1796 (APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 364r-366v); on December 21, 1796 (APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 360r-v).

212 APF, *Acta 168*, *ff.* 195v-196r.

1. What provision is to be taken on the person of the bishop ordained and on the acts exercised by him invalidly?
2. What provision is to be taken on the person of the assistant priest?
3. What is to be done with regard to the justification of Mar John, if he had incurred censures; and what if he would not have called back the bishop?
4. How to provide for the Syro-Chaldean Christians in Malabar in their pretext of independence from the missionaries?
5. What is to be decided regarding the scandals of the missionaries?
6. Is it necessary to give precise faculties to Mar John if he asks; and what are they?
7. Can he be given the faculty to authorize the bishops sent by him in places of difficult access and to ordain other bishops with the assistance of priests?

The General Assembly met again on September 23, 1801. The theme for the discussion was the same as in the preceding one[213], i.e., to consider the very grave situation of the Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar. The mind of the Assembly was:

1. that it be given the report of the new letters that arrived after the distribution of the other *ponenza*;
2. that some given notices be added regarding the archdiocese of Kodungalloor, also with regard to the faculties of the apostolic vicar over the Chaldeans;
3. that the report of the apostolic visit of the Fr. Fulgentius, the apostolic vicar of Babylonia[214], be taken into consideration.

Taking the causes into reconsideration Cardinal Antonelli thought it right to reassume the above-stated report of March 30, 1801, to which are added the requested clearing-up and three other articles[215]. *Article First* is 'the summary of the four supervened letters'[216]:

1. of Fr. Valentine of St. Theresa, Carmelite missionary in Malabar[217].
2. of Mar John, administrator of the Chaldean patriarch.
3. of the Syro-Chaldean clergy of Malabar[218].
4. of Fr. Fulgentius, apostolic vicar of Babylonia[219].

213 Making use of the documents and the notices newly-received in the interim period to discuss (already discussed on March 30) the matter anew and to see to the resolutions. See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 280r.

214 APF, *Acta* 168, f. 280r, "1. che si desse il ristretto delle nuove lettere sopravenute dopo la distribuzione di quella ponenza: 2. che si aggiungessero alcune date notizie sul'arcivescovado di Cranganore, e le facoltà del vicario apostolico del Malabar sopra i caldei: 3. che si compisse il ristretto della visita apostolica de caldei fatta da Fulgenzio, vicario apostolico di Babylonia".

215 See APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 280r-v.

216 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 280v. The reference to the letters of Fr. Valentine and of Fr. Fulgentius is in APF, *Lettere 281*, f. 398v.

217 This letter of Fr. Valentine was written from Varapuzha on December 8, 1799. The content of this letter dealt with the current problems existing in Malabar. See APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 338r-340v [in Latin].

218 This letter can be seen in APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 357v-358v (in Syriac). Its translation in Italian is in APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 355r-356r; APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 288r-290r. This letter was sent to Mar John, the administrator of the Chaldean patriarchate to give to the Pope. This letter was written in Syro-Chaldean characters in

Article Second is 'archival note relating to the archdiocese of Kodungalloor and the faculties of the apostolic vicar of Malabar over the Chaldeans'[220] and *Article Third* is 'the reassumption of the report relating to the last visit of the Chaldeans'[221].

1.5.1. The letter of Mar John of October 20, 1800

Since this letter[222] clears up the events that occurred at Baghdad and the motives behind, it has much importance. As usual[223] Mar John began with the sentiments of submission and obedience to the Holy See. Then quoting from a letter[224] from Malabar he informed the Congregation:

the name of the Catholics of the dioceses of Daguta and Agilur of the Christians of St. Thomas in the East Indies undersigned by 72 priests. There are little differences with regard to the places noted in the translations in *Acta* and in *SOCG*.

219 See APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 290v-291r; APF *SOCG 907*, ff. 342r-v. This letter was written by Fr. Fulgentius, the apostolic vicar of Babylonia, on November 17, 1800. He wrote in the letter that the two Chaldean priests who returned to Baghdad lost on the way everything they had with them from Malabar. This seems to indicate that they had many things with them.

Fr. Fulgentius noted in the letter that Mar John, the administrator, called Mar John, the bishop of Salsmat, to Baghdad with the intention of sending him to Malabar (see APF, *Acta 168*, f. 290v). The words of Fr. Fulgentius: "Ed adesso sento, che Monsig. Giovanni, arcivescovo di Mosul, abbia scritto a Monsig. Giovanni di Salsmat alunno della S. Congregazione che si parti a Baghdad per partirsene per Malabar.... questi sono ordinazioni straordinarie, io suppongo, che vengono fatte colla conoscenza di Vostra Eminenza. Monsig. Giovanni dice a me, che non mi intrighi nei suoi affari, ed io per non mettere disturbi, devo lasciarlo fare, e gli faccio tutto (*sic*) le finezza, accetando lui, e suoi preti in chiesa nostra, per assistere il popolo caldeo, essendo stata disfatta da loro chiesa dal fondo, finché furono vendute tutte le pietre della chiesa; ed io li ho ricevuti in chiesa nostra, anche contro il consentimento del Sig. Console, ed anche contro il parere dei vecchi delle nazione caldea medesima". APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 342r.

220 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 291r. Here, while speaking about the history of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor, is given the limits of the jurisdictional power of the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha over the churches in Malabar whether under his apostolic vicariate or under the diocese of Kochi or the archdiocese of Kodungalloor, as decided in the General Assemblies of June 17, 1781, February 18, 1788, and July 20, 1790.

221 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 295r.

222 This letter is seen in APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 351r-354r; APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 283v-288r.

223 After the flow of letters (four times) in the period between November 1796 and March 1798 [the time the deputation from Malabar spent at Baghdad] he sent letters again to the Congregation on October 30, 1799 (see APF, *SOCG 907*

> After the arrival of Bishop Pandari in Malabar there arose many problems in Malabar, all from the jealousy and envy not only of the apostolic vicar but also of the Carmelite missionaries and of others who follow them. All others generally remained very content since they received one bishop but they still request Mar John to send one more bishop and other priests who would instruct them and correct their liturgical books[225].

Mar Hormez held that seeing the joy of the nation, the Carmelites published a circular letter saying that Mar John, Mar Pandari ordained by him, and all others who recognized him, were suspended by the Holy Father with an encyclical[226]. He stated that the majority of the faithful including Mathu Tharakan followed the new bishop; and a Jacobite bishop Mar Thoma with his followers became Catholic under him. But scandalized by the procedures of the apostolic vicar, he returned to his former schism after six months[227].

He then exposed the reasons why he ordained Pandari and sent him to Malabar. As in his earlier letters he maintainedd the same ground of the dependence of the Malabar Church on the Babylonian patriarchate and his intention of saving the Church in Malabar from a possible schism[228]. He held the mind of Pope Benedict XIV that the Orientals not abandon their rites and become Latins, but that they abandon their heresies[229]. So he attacked the Carmelite missionaries with great force bringing into light their scandalous activities, insincerity of the intentions, the inertia in the pastoral field and their insufficiency in a foreign land[230]. In addition, he justified himself saying

225 APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 283v-284r, "... che dopo l'arrivo del vescovo Abramo, insorsero cola vari disturbi, tutti però eccitati dalla gelosia, ed invidia non meno di Mons. Usulense vicario apostolico, che dei missionari carmelitani, e di alcuni altri pochi del loro seguito, giacché tutti gl'altri generalmente non solo rimasero contentissimi del vescovo loro mandato, ma ancora supplicarono Mar Giovanni a spedir loro anche un altro vescovo, ed altri preti, che si istruisseero nei riti cattolici, e ripurgassero i libri ecclesiastici, nei quali si erano scoperti vari errori ereticali".

226 Mar Hormez wrote to the Congregation that he had with him a copy of that circular letter written in Portuguese. But the apostolic vicar Aloysius Mary wrote that the circular letter was written by the vicar general of Kochi. See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

227 See APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 284v-285r. However, it was a fact that more than the apostolic vicar, the vicar general of Kochi was against the reunion of the Jacobite faction. See KOLLAPARAMBIL, *Mar Dionysius the Great*, 184; PODIPARA, *The Efforts for Reunion*, 92.

228 Why he could not have thought the possibility of schism if he would have sent one bishop to Malabar where there already existed enough problems with regard to jurisdictions and obedience, and thereby again putting the people in confusion of obedience.

229 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 286r. See the mind of Benedict XIV as quoted in the report of the General Assembly: che gli Orientali abbandonino i loro riti, ma solo che si allontani l'eresia, exoptans vehementer, ut diverse eorum nationes conserventur, non destruantur, omnesque (ut multa paucis complectamur) Catholici sint, non ut omnes Latini fiant (underline is of the archivist).

230 See APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 285r-287r.

that the faithful in Malabar were pleased with his act, since they asked for one more bishop and for more priests and he found himself not culpable before God[231].

1.5.2. The letter of the Syrian Catholics of Malabar

A letter was written by the faithful of the dioceses of Daguta and Agilur[232]. In its first paragraph we read the journey of the two Syrian priests, Joseph Cariattil and Thomas Paremmakkal, to Portugal and then to Rome and in the following paragraph the laments of the Syrians, revealing their pathetic situation of not having one bishop. It is worth noting that though the faithful sent many letters to Rome, ten years passed since they got a reply[233]. Then they wrote to the Chaldean patriarch, describing their situation and presenting their need before him. Accordingly, the administrator of the patriarch sent them one bishop together with two priests[234]. The letter treated also the reunion of the Jacobite bishop Mar Thomas[235]. At the end of the letter we see the request of the faithful to the Holy Father to send them one or two bishops[236].

231 See APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 353r.

232 But the names of these dioceses are not known to the Christians of Malabar.

233 In the letter it is written that through the bishops these letters were sent to Rome (but in *Acta*, omitted are the words, 'whether knowingly or unknowingly'). It is possible that the bishops (Carmelite missionaries) kept the letters with them, and not sent them to Rome as seems indicated in some letters. See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 183v.

234 The letter says that the priests were very expert in the Chaldean rites and, therefore, of much help to the faithful. But the writings of the apostolic vicar witnessed the contrary.

235 With regard to the reunion of Mar Thomas, what this letter gives is incorrect. "Mar Thomas, moved by the fame of the two priests, learned from them the Chaldean rites and the ceremonies and became Catholic. But all the people were against him since he with the insinuation of the archbishop of Goa made many changes in the Oriental customs of their Church following the Western Church". But there is no document in support of this statement. And there was no need indeed for Mar Thoma to learn more things regarding the rites and ceremonies from the two Chaldean priests. It was possible that he thought of keeping the liturgy or, if otherwise, of acting according to the directions of the Synod of Udayamperoor. This letter purported to show that the two priests were in the back of the reunion, but they had nothing to do with the reunion. So how can so much incorrect information regarding the events that occurred in Malabar in the proximate past be contained in the letter of the priests from Malabar? So it seems that this letter is a false one (written by the Chaldean priests or by the administrator himself (Mar John) to make Rome know that the Church in Malabar is theirs.

236 See APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 288r-290v.

1.5.3. The mind of the cardinals

After discussing the particular situation of Malabar Church in the light of the letters received, the following questions were put forward before the cardinals[237]:

1. Whether Bishop Pandari was validly absolved and qualified to perform the sacerdotal exercise?
2. What is to be decided in the case of the Syro-Malabar priests with regard to the irregularity incurred in having received Mar Thoma, elected one vicar general and asked for a bishop from Mar John?
3. What steps can be taken either to call Mar Thoma back again to or to confirm him in the Catholic faith?
4. Whether Mar John ought send another bishop and priests again to Malabar, according to the demands of the faithful of Malabar?
5. What is to be concluded with regard to the supposed innovation Mar Thoma made in the observance of feasts and fasts days?

Following were the answers given by the cardinals[238]:

1. To give faculty to Bishop Pandari to be absolved from the irregularity and to confirm approval, *a cautela*, if he had incurred a suspension because of his acts.
2. To give faculty to Mar John to be absolved, *a cautela*, from the irregularity if incurred in his acts in the case of the jurisdiction over the Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar.
3. To give faculty to Mar John to depute Mar Iso'yahb Guriel[239], the bishop of Salsmat, as his vicar in Malabar with full jurisdiction over the Syro-Chaldean Catholics; and also in those dioceses of the Latin rite where the Latin prelates cannot exercise jurisdiction over the Syro-Chaldeans.
4. To depute the apostolic vicar of Bombay as visitor in Malabar with all the faculties.

Although the grave disorder and the confusion in the Church in Malabar with regard to the jurisdiction and obedience was thoroughly and vehemently discussed and disputed in the General Assemblies of March 30 and September 23, 1801, and the necessary steps were taken to advance the good of the Syrian Catholics of Malabar, the report of the General Assembly of April 13, 1807, states that 'the provisions[240] taken in the General Assembly of September 23, 1801, over the Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar

237 See APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 322r-v.

238 See APF, *Acta 168*, f. 337r, "1. facoltà al vescovo paolo Pandari di farsi assolvere da qualunque conferma aprovato, a cautela, se forse incorso in sospensione, per qualche atto... 2. facoltà all'archvescovo Mar Giovanni di farsi assolvere a cautela ... la conferma, se mai non forse stato in caso di poter legitimare... giurisdizione sui caldei del Malabar... 3. facoltà all'archvescovo Mar Giovanni di deputare Monsignor Giovanni Simone vescovo di Salsmat per vicario suo nel Malabar con piena giurisdizione sopra tutti i caldei cattolici... 4. deputare il vicario apostolico di Bombay visitatore dei suoi coreligiosi carmelitani scalzi che sono nel Malabar con tutte le facoltà".

239 There is some confusion with regard to the name of the bishop to be delegated by Mar John. Sometimes the name is written as Iso'yahb Guriel and at other times either as Giovanni, Giona or Guriel (although the names are differently written the person is same: the bishop of Salsmat). See the differences in APF, *Acta 168*, f. 337r; APF, *Acta 174*, f. 105r; APF, *Udienze 46*, f. 462r.

have not been executed'[241]. The Bishop Mar Iso'yahb Guriel of Salsmat had already been made the apostolic delegate of the Holy See to Malabar and was asked to speak with the apostolic vicar in Malabar and to come to an agreement with regard to the controversial matters of jurisdiction. He was also deputed to study the dissensions among the people of Malabar, to reunite the divided churches, to put an end to the abuses and the errors in the liturgical books and to establish discipline. He was requested to deprive the jurisdiction and the exercise of the Bishop Pandari and to procure a firm conversion of Mar Thoma. But nothing was done[242]. As Msgr. Pianta, the apostolic delegate at Baghdad, informed Propaganda, the reason why he did not execute the decisions of the Holy See was the lack of financial means[243].

[240] The answer given by the General Assembly of September 23, 1801 regarding the deputation of Iso'yahb Guriel is the following: "R.D.Joannem Jona seu Guriel Episcopum Salmastem ex speciali facultate Sedis Apostolicae et ad suum beneplacitum deputandum esse ab Archepiscopo Joanne (ossia Monsig. Hormez) tamquam suum Vicarium in Malabaria cum plenaria jurisdictione super omnes Syro-Chaldeos vere Catholicos". ACO, *Ponenze 1 (Caldei)*, f. 37. The report of the *Ponenza* continues: "Ed riguardo al seguente dubbio, come si dovesse provvedere ai pretesi scandali dei missionari, la S. C. costituisce il vicario apostolico di Bombay Visitatore dei Carmelitani del Malabar, ed alle altre istruzioni aggiunge pur questa 'moneatur' (il detto visitatore) *ne impediat jurisdictionem R.P. Guriel Episcopi Salmasten. supra Syro-Chaldaeos, quin potius junctis studiis ac Christiana charitate curet, ut Syro-Chaldaei pareant mandatis Episcopi sui ritus juxta ea quae a S. C. cum approbatione SSmi Sanctita sunt*". ACO, *Ponenze 1 (Caldei)*, f. 37.

[241] APF, *Acta 174*, f. 105r, "Le provvidenze prese dalla S. Congregazione Generale dei 23 Settembre 1801 sopra i cattolici siro-caldei del Malabar non hanno avuta esecuzione. The letter which Msgr. Peter Alcantara, the apostolic vicar of Bombay wrote to the Prefect of Propaganda on January 30, 1812, witnesses the same. He wrote: ...non aver eseguito quella visita... perché era data gia la commissione al nuovo eletto vicario apostolico, Raimondo". APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 26r. On July 31, 1808, since the deputation in the person of Mar Guriel, the bishop of Salsmat as the apostolic delegate of the Syro-Chaldeans in Malabar did not take place, Msgr. Raimond, apostolic vicar of Malabar requested the Holy Father the same faculties which had already been granted (in 1802) to Msgr. Guriel, to absolve Mar Pandari from all censures and to dispense him from the irregularities. APF, *Udienze 46*, f. 462r.

[242] APF, *Acta 174*, f. 105v, "Monsig. Guriel or detto Isuia Giona, vescovo di Salsmat costituito Delegato della S. Sede per comporre di concerto del vicario apostolico del Malabar, le dissenzioni di quei popoli, riunire le chiese divise, esterpare gli abusi, purgare gli errori nei libri, ristabilirvi la disciplina, privare di ogni giurisdizione ed esercizio episcopale di vescovo Paolo Pandari, e procurare la piu ferma conversione di Mar Thoma, non ha potuto eseguire, come si è gia esposto di sopra". This is also indicated in the *ristretto* of the General Assembly of February 1865. See ACO, *Ponenze 1 (Caldei)*, f. 39.

[243] "... non è potuto andare nel Malabar per mancanza dei mezzi, giacché egli è cosi povero, che vive col lavoro delle sue mani, e il viaggio importa gran spesa". APF, *Acta 174*, f. 105v. But we find a different version of these events in the later documents. The report of the General Assembly of Propaganda of February 1865, indicates that besides the decisions taken in the General Assembly of September 23, 1801, the Congregation made a decree dated August 28, 1802 in this regard. See the words of the report with regard to the decisions made in the General Assembly and the decree of August 28, 1802: "Nel primo Monsig. Hormez è autorizato a stabilire Guriel, nel secondo non si fa punto menzione di Monsig. Hormez, e Monsig. Guriel è destinato Delegato delle S. Sede: nell' uno e nell'altro Guriel è destinato con plenaria giurisdizione, ma nel decreto del 1801 sono riservate le sole cause più gravi, nelle quali deve consultare la

1.6. On the move in Malabar

With the election of the new vicar general in the person of George Sankoorickal the confused situation of the Malabar Church in the early years of the first decade of the nineteenth century was getting better. In a letter of January 27, 1802, the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha, Aloysius Mary, wrote to the Congregation that the confusion in Malabar was almost extinguished; and the schism in Malabar ended as the parishes which followed the new group were subjected to the ecclesiastical governor of Kodungalloor. The old vicar general, Kattakayathil Abraham, and his adherents asked absolution from the new administrator[244]. He was of opinion that at the beginning of 1802 only a few churches remained outside either of the jurisdictions. On January 4 Bishop Pandari came to the apostolic vicar and told of his intention of living at Varapuzha. Aloysius Mary wrote: "I received him with the necessary charity and assigned him a room in the seminary at Varapuzha, and assured him an honest sustenance according to the custom of the land"[245]. Although he settled at Varapuzha, he should have obtained, the apostolic vicar held, a descript from the Holy See[246].

By January 1802, 37 Syrian churches came under the subjection of the apostolic vicar, of which 10 were from the former schismatic faction. He also informed the Congregation that the priests ordained by Bishop Pandari were also subjected to him; and some young ones who had been suspended from the seminary, after being absolved from the censures and dispensed from the irregularities, were left free in the exercise of their orders[247]. The priests adherent to Pandari or followed him were also absolved from the censures and admitted under the obedience of the apostolic vicar[248].

S. Sede". ACO, *Ponenze 1 (Caldei)* f. 38. As the reason for the issuing of this decree is not cleraly stated in the decree of August 28, 1802, the report of the General Assembly of February 1865 writes: "come e perché dopo la risoluzione del 23 Settembre 1801 avesse luogo l'enunciato decreto del 1802. E però manifesto, che non il primo, ne il secondo fù spedito". ACO, *Ponenze 1 (Caldei)* f. 38. The report of the Assembly also gives the possible answer for it: "qualche mutazione di circostanze abbia reso il primo inopportuno, e quindi il decreto di 1802. Il decreto di 1802 non fù eseguito poiché da Monsig. Hormez, non furono communicate questi disposizioni a Guriel...". ACO, *Ponenze 1 (Caldei)*, f. 39. Msgr. Pianta had written that Mar Iso'yahb of Salsmat could not also rule the diocese for a long time since he left Salsmat giving the rule of the diocese in the hands of an illegitimate bishop. See APF, *Acta 174*, f. 105v.

244 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 72r (letter of Aloysius Mary to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on January 27, 1802).

245 "L'ho ricevuto cola dovuta carità, gli ho assegnato una camera libera nel seminario, l'ho assicurato del suo honesto sosteno secondo l'uso del paese". APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 72r.

246 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 72r.

247 See APF, *SC IO 1*, ff. 72r-v.

248 See APF, *Acta 174*, f. 107r (letter of Msgr. Raimond on March 11, 1804 to Fr. Paulinus).

1.6.1. Msgr. Raimond, new apostolic vicar

The confusions in the early years of nineteenth century were almost settled, and the Suriani Catholics began to breath freely in their land. By this time as successor to Aloysius Mary there came into office on March 1, 1803, the new apostolic vicar Raimond of St. Joseph[249]. In the following years the situation in Malabar was very calm and there were no special events and as the report of the General Assembly (on Chaldeans) of April 13, 1807, evidenced, "directly from Malabar no news was received in Rome; there arrived only one letter of Msgr. Peter Alcantara, the apostolic vicar of Mogol (Bombay) on December 24, 1805"[250]. In the letter he informed the Congregation that the new apostolic vicar of Malabar had not yet received the brief of his appointment[251]. To ordain the clerics he sometimes had to go to Malabar. As is seen in the letter of Msgr. Peter Alcantara, the king of Kochi added to the apostolic vicariate of Malabar almost 25 Syrian churches[252]. But in his letter Msgr. Raimond wrote nothing about the deputation by which he was entitled as the apostolic visitor of the Carmelite missionaries of Malabar decreed on September 23, 1801, according to the fifth question of the *Ponenza* of Caldei. So it could be concluded that he had not received the letter from the Congregation and consequently the visit might not have taken place. The report stated that the Salsmat delegation also had no effect[253].

In a letter of Msgr. Raimond of St. Joseph on March 11, 1804, to Fr. Paulinus he wrote that the situation in Malabar became quiet and the divided churches came under the obedience of the apostolic vicar. Then he wrote about the person of Mathu Tharakan:

> The famous Mathu Tharakan, the author of discords and of the schism, fell in the disgrace of the king of Thiruvithamkoor. He was deprived of all his wealth. In a popular tumult his ears were cut off.

249 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 296. For details see chapter 2, pp. 80-82.

250 APF, *Acta 174*, f. 106r, "Direttamente dal Malabar non si sono arrivate altre notizie; sol giunta una lettera di Monsig. Pietro d'Alcantara, vescovo Antifallense, vicario apostolico del Mogol in data di 24 Decembre 1805".

251 By this time almost two and a half years passed by.

252 See APF, *Acta 174*, f. 106r.

253 "Nulla si dice il Mogolense della deputazione fatta della sua persona in visitatore apostolico dei padri Carmelitani scalzi del Malabar, qual fù decretata li 23 Settembre 1801, al Dubbio 5 della Ponenza dei Caldei. Quindi si può dedurre che non gli son pervenute le lettere della S. Congregazione, e per consequenza, ne la visita del Mogolense, ne la delegazione del Salsmatense hanno avuto effetto". APF, *Acta 174*, f. 106r.

> Thus is removed the cause of all dissension, and the Christians of St. Thomas got back their quietness and the divided churches came under the obedience of the apostolic vicar[254].

1.6.2. The last days of Mar Pandari

We have seen from the letter of Aloysius Mary of January 27, 1802, that Mar Pandari came to him and, according to Pandari's will, he settled in the seminary at Varapuzha. But he felt himself abandoned by everybody and expelled from the land by being considered the disturber of the community. Mar Pandari went to Fr. Dominic, who was the *Provveditore* of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor appointed by the archbishop of Goa[255]; there too he felt dissatisfied. On leaving Fr. Dominic, dressed as a layman, he went to Madras via the mountains. But after some time he returned to Malabar and lived unrecognized in the land. After some time he was recognized by the people and he again took the ecclesiastical dress and he came to the church of Angamaly[256]. In one of his last letters[257], Msgr. Aloysius Mary wrote:

> Taking into consideration the real repentance of the intruder, the Congregation can allot him 50 scudi[258] annually with the condition that he remains at Varapuzha in the Syrian seminary, where the apostolic vicar can have an eye on him. The faculty can be given to the repentant intruder, after

254 APF, *Acta 174*, f. 106v, "Il famoso Mathu Tharakan, autore della discordie e dello scisma di quella cristianità essendo entrato in disgrazia del Re di Travancore.... Rimossa così la causa delle dissensioni, la cristianità di S. Tommaso nel Malabar ricupero la sua quieta, e le chiese divise tornarono all'ubbidienza del vicario apostolico".

Although what happened was historical, Tharakan could not be considered the cause of all dissension in the Malabar Church. These words of Msgr. Raimond show the antipathy of the Carmelites towards the Syrians as they always, headed by important persons like Mathu Tharakan, made demands for freedom from the Carmelite absolutism and for autonomy of rule.

255 See APF, *Acta 174*, f. 106v.

256 See APF, *Acta 174*, ff. 106v-107r, "Pandari prese l'abito gentilesco di bramano e per la via della montagna se ne andò a Madras. Non molto dopo si ritornò sconosciuto, ... che fù conosciuto, e si rivestito dell'abito ecclesiastico, fù condotto alla chiesa di Angamali, dove tuttavia dimora". The same thing is written by Fr. Paulinus in the report he made in 1805: "Dalle lettere di Monsig. vicario apostolico in data di 11 Marzo 1804 li rileva che l'intrusco vescovo Paolo Pandari uscito dal Malabar fece viaggio per le montagne di Palacattusseri, alla costa Coromandel, e che avendo dimesso l'abito sacerdotale ed ecclesiastico, ritornò al Malabar in abito gentilesco da Bramane, ossia sacerdote pagano, e siccome fù riconosciuto da P. Valentino e dai cristiani, fù condotta alla chiesa di Angamali". APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 384r.

257 This letter was written by Msgr. Aloysius Mary on his death bed. In it he gave some instructions to the new apostolic vicar with regard to the schism and the intruder bishop. See this letter in APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 102r-v.

258 'scudi' is the common name of money used in the various states in Europe, in many epochs and with very different values. In Italy it was in use in the 1500's and in the later period, substituted gradually with *ducati* and *reali*. *Grande Dizionario Illustrato*, 3401.

being absolved from the censures, to celebrate also pontifically, but never give Orders to the nationals to avoid a new schism[259].

The presence of Pandari at Varapuzha was not pleasing to the Carmelite missionaries, although he was provided a habitation there. They had in mind that the bishop would still create problems[260]. As Fr. Paulinus held, he was subject to the apostolic vicar and was granted an annual pension of 30 scudi for his maintenance after having taken the oath to remain quiet and to conduct himself as a simple priest[261]. The documents speak little about the rest of his years. Msgr. Alcantara in a letter dated March 18, 1807, wrote to the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda that the intruder bishop, after two and a half months of stay with him at Bombay, departed to Bassora and then to Mosul to see his consecrator[262]. Fr. Placid J. Podipara says that Bishop Pandari became sick, if not mentally disturbed, then returned to Mesopotamia, and even journeyed as far as Istanbul where he breathed his last[263]. Fr. Paulinus wrote to the Congregation to tell Mar Hormez[264] to recall to Ninive the Chaldean bishop, Hannan Jesuab [Iso'yahb], who had been sent to Malabar together with Bishop Pandari,

259 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 102r, "Supposto il vero pentimento dell'intrusco, la S. Congregazione gli può passare 50 scudi per il suo mantenimento con condizione che egli rimanga in Verapoli, nel seminario soriano, dove il vicario apostolico deve aver un occhio sopra di lui.... Il vicario apostolico potrà dare la facoltà all'intrusco pentito, dopo che farà sciolto dalle censure, di celebrare anche pontificalmente, mai però dare gli ordini alli nazionali, per evitare un nuovo scisma".

260 Fr. Paulinus thought that since Pandari was a native bishop, being devoid of title and jurisdiction could embitter the people and cause another schism. See APF, *Acta 174*, f. 107r.

261 "... assegnata dalla S. Congregazione per suo mantenimento un annua [annuale] pensione di scudi trenta, prestando però il giuramento di rimanere quieto, e di comportarsi come un privato sacerdote". APF, *Acta 174*, f. 107r.

262 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 579r. Msgr. Alcantara added: "L'ho vivamente acconsigliato a chiedere a Sua Santità il perdono del suo fatto, a fine di poter ottenere la licenza... il solo ordine sacerdotale, giacche senza di questo non puo egli honastamente vivere, essendo poverissimo".

263 PODIPARA, *The Hierarchy*, 160. It is not sure how many years more Mar Pandari lived and when and where he died. Bernard Thoma writes: "Palappallil Abraham *Kathanar* in his book '*Suriani samuuha vruthantham*' [The history of the Syrians] written in 1877 (Kochi) writes that Mar Pandari was seen in Varapuzha. After some days he showed the signs of abnormality and after some days died. Some other documents too witness the same. Some say he went to Mesopotamia and spent there the rest of his life. It seems to be more possible". BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 239.

264 From 1794 till 1830 Mar John had to face many problems. On the one hand, he worked much for the union of all Chaldeans despite opposition, including that of Turkish authorities; on the other he was kept under suspicion by Rome, owing to a conflict between him and Augustine Hindi, metropolitan of Diarbekir, and to the jealousy and intolerant spirit of the newly-founded or rather reopened monastery of Alkosh, intended to be the Catholic successor of the ancient Deir-Rabban-Hormizd, which was restored and reoccupied. For details see BELLO, *La congregation de S. Horsmisdas*, 46-69). Hindi died in 1827 and Mar John Hormez was finally left without objection. Strongly backed by Bishop Peter Alexander Coupperie, who had become bishop of Babylon for the Latins in 1820, the checkered history of the

so as to eliminate from Malabar another possible schism[265]. But there was not even a single indication, as presented in the report of the General Assembly of April 13, 1807, that another bishop had been sent to Malabar other than Pandari, only two priests, Hormus and Joseph, together with Pandari. The Congregation knew only that the Syrians in Malabar, as Mar Hormez maintained, had asked for another bishop and other priests from Baghdad[266]. So although the situation in Malabar was almost quiet after the schism, only the body (of the nation) was calm—the heads were still working[267].

metropolitan of Mosul was ended and he was recognized in July 1830 as successor of Joseph IV and, therefore, as full-fledged patriarch of Babylon of the Chaldeans. In this way the one-century-old Catholic line of Diarbekir and the age-long catholicosate of the East were merged in the new Catholic patriarch, whose successors ever since have presided over the Catholic Chaldeans. HAMBYE, *Mar Paulos Pandari*, 83. For more details on the Chaldean Church see APF, *Acta 174*, f. 38 (history of the patriarchate of Babylonia and the conversion of the Patriarch Mar John Hormez); APF, *Acta 178*, f. 281 (on the new patriarch of the Syrians); APF, *Acta 179*, f. 190 (whether to grant the new patriarch the faculty to send one of his bishops to India to take care of the Syrians who were without a proper bishop according to the letters of the Congregation given to the deceased Patriarch Michael Giave); APF, *Acta 180*, f. 75 (on the affairs of the Chaldean patriarchate).

265 APF, *Acta 174*, f. 107r. What Fr. Paulinus wrote to Propaganda was a lie. He may have thought to make Rome understand that the Chaldeans were still making problems in Malabar and, therefore, their position was not secure; or he may have wanted to find fault with the Christians of Malabar for having or trying to get bishops from Baghdad other than the Carmelites. At any rate, the Congregation could understand the fact that it was lie.

266 "Nulla affatto sappiamo di questo vescovo dalle passate relazioni si sa soltanto che Mar Giovanni spedì col Pandari due sacerdoti, cio è Hormus e Giuseppe, non però altro vescovo". APF, *Acta 174*, ff. 107r-v.

Fr. Fulgentius in his letter to the Congregation on November 27, 1800, wrote: "che i due preti mandati da Monsig. Giovanni in Malabar, sono ritornati spogliati del tutto che avevano ricevuto nell' India; ed adesso sento, che Monsig. Giovanni di Salsmat alunno della S. Congregazione che si parti a Bagdad per partirsene per Malabar. Eminentissima, queste sono ordinazioni straordinarie, io suppongo, che vengono fatte colla conoscenza di V. Eminenza. Monsig. Giovanni dice a me, che non mi intrighi nei suoi affari...". (APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 342r). Such a plan on the part of Mar John of Salsmat might have been misinterpreted by the missionaries that he was sent by Mar Hormez to Malabar. But nothing had taken place.

267 The Chaldean patriarch was trying again to send a bishop to Malabar. See APF, *Acta 179*, ff. 263r-v. Based on the argument of the Chaldean patriarch, the General Assembly of Propaganda held on August 6, 1816, discussed "whether to allow the Chaldean patriarch to send a bishop to Malabar to take care of the Syrians". APF, *Acta 179*, f. 263v, ACO, *Ponenze 1 (Caldei)*, f. 39. See the details on the situation at Baghdad after the Pandari-event in APF, *Acta 169*, ff. 128r-v (complaints against Mar Hormez); APF, *Acta 173*, ff. 185r-v and APF, *Acta 178*, ff. 281r-v (about the election of the new patriarch); APF, *Acta 179*, ff. 262r-263v and APF, *Acta 180*, 75r-77r (about the right to send bishops to Malabar). The attempts of the Chaldean patriarch did not bear fruit. Later, when Msgr. Maurilius Stabellini was the apostolic vicar of Malabar, he wrote to Rome stating that it would be better that a Chaldean priest from Baghdad be sent to Malabar to teach the seminarians Syriac language and liturgy. See the details in chapter 3, p. 169. Accordingly, Propaganda wrote on January 8, 1831, to the Latin bishop of Babylonia informing him of the proposal to send a Chaldean priest to Malabar to correct the liturgical books and to teach the Syro-Chaldean priests in Malabar. See APF, *Lettere 312*, f. 24r-25r.

CHAPTER 2

PROPAGANDISTS AND PADROADISTS

A side by side exercise of power of the two jurisdictions of Padroado and Propaganda over the Suriani Catholics gradually became conflicting and rival because of a lack of understanding and cooperation between representatives of both jurisdictions and also because of the unsuitability of persons appointed in their respective roles.

2.1. Suriani Catholics under the Carmelites

The revolt of the Mar Thoma Christians in 1653[1] against the Padroado rule necessitated the intervention of Propaganda in Malabar[2]. By sending the first group[3] of Carmelites to Malabar to repair the difficult situation[4] caused by the revolt, Propagan-

1 The revolt of January 3, 1653, known as the *Coonan Kurisu [Cross] Oath* took place during Msgr. Francis Garcia's time [1641-1659]. For details see APF, *SOCG 232*, ff. 117r, 121r, 129v, 133r, 138r; APF, *SOCG 234*, ff. 324v, 330v, 338v; ARSI, *Goa 68*, ff. 491r-494r. This revolt was against the Latinizing policy of the Padroado prelates. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 487r, "... gravi dispareri tra Monsig. Francesco Garzia Gesuita arcivescovo di Cranganore, ed i popoli della Serra del Malabar". For details see THEKEDATHU, *Troubled Days*; KOLLAPARAMBIL, *The Revolution*.

2 The archdeacon and the faithful wrote to Rome showing their preference for the Discalced Carmelites. APF, *SOCG 233*, ff. 455v, 456v. Propaganda, after having studied the matter, decided to send papal briefs to the archbishop, archdeacon, the faithful and the chapter of Kochi. ARSI *Goa 68-I*, f. 290.

3 In the group there were the following priests: Hyacinth of St. Vincent, Marcel of St. Ives, Joseph of St. Mary and Vincent Mary of St. Catherine of Siena. For details see THEKEDATHU, *Troubled Days*, 105-107. The briefs on the same are seen in ARSI, *Goa 68-II*, ff. 419-421; *Jus Pontificium VII*, 32-33.

4 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 487r, "Per apprestar riparo a tanto male spedì nel 1656". For the first journey of Sebastiani to Malabar see SEBASTIANI, *Prima Spedizione* and for the second see SEBASTIANI, *Seconda Spedizione*. Although the Christians of Malabar revolted against the Latinization, the tendancy of Sebastiani to introduce it again was clear. See APF, *SOCG 234*, ff. 3r-4r. The mentality of Sebastiani was evident in the 'Instruction' given him by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. See APF, *SOCG 233*, ff.

da's first thought was to provide to the spiritual needs of the reluctant faithful and to try to hold them in the true obedience[5]; However, by appointing one of the group, Sebastiani[6], as the administrator of the whole Malabar[7] the result was otherwise. Although the appointment of an apostolic vicar was provisional for the spiritual needs of those unwilling to remain under the Padroado prelate, the Carmelite missionaries gradually established their position in Malabar[8]. The political situation[9] interrupted their

33r-34r. A copy of this 'Instruction' is seen in APF, *SOCG 233*, 29r-36r (Instruzione al P. Giuseppe di S. Maria, Carmelitano Scalzo, per gli negozi che deve trattare et operare nell'Inide Orientali e specialmente nella Serra). The nos. 29, 35, 36, 37, 38 and 40 of the same show the attempt to extinguish the Syriac rite through the gradual termination of teaching and learning Syriac.

5 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 487r.

6 On December 20, 1659, Fr. Joseph of St. Mary [Sebastiani], an Italian Carmelite, was consecrated bishop in Rome and was appointed first apostolic vicar of Malabar. See APF, *SOCG 234*, ff. 3r, 4r, 504r.

He was born on February 21, 1623, at Caprarola in the province of Viterbo in Central Italy. On March 3, 1641, he made the religious profession as a Discalced Carmelite at the monastery of S. Maria della Scala. From 1651 to 1653 he taught philosophy and theology at the Carmelite monastery at Caprarola. See AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 225. On January 24, 1656, he was appointed the apostolic commissary for Malabar and then on December 15, 1659, the apostolic vicar as the administrator of the whole Serra. APF, *Acta 193*, 487r. On May 14, 1661 he reached Kochi to take up the new office. APF, *SOCG 234*, f. 504r; APF, *SOCG 659*, ff. 295v-296r.

7 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 487r, "... fù poi rimandato nella Serra con carattere di Vescovo di Verapoli, e con potesta di consecrar vescovi uno o due dei migliori sacerdoti secolari o regolari dei quei luoghi, col titolo in partibus, e di affidargli come vicari apostolici l'amministrazione spirituale della Serra, o arcivescovo di Cranganor".

8 After the death of Archbishop Garcia in 1659, the Padroado See of Kodungalloor remained vacant. Although eight persons were nominated to the See of Kodungalloor one after another, none of them took possession of it. See AGOCD, *Plut 264a*, ff. 97-98; PAULINUS, *India Orientalis*, 66-67; FERROLI, *Jesuits in Malabar*, 72-87. The king of Portugal requested the Holy See to send bulls of appointment to his nominations to the Padroado sees in the East, viz, Malacca, Macao, Kodungalloor and Kochi. APF, *Acta 98*, f. 82v; APF, *CP 109*, f. 61. As Rome did not answer, the missionaries who passed through Lisbon were constrained to take an oath harmful to the Holy See. APF, *SOCG 659*, f. 297r. Consequently, the affair was dealt with in the Particular Assembly of December 23, 1688, which resolved to condescend to the request of the king in the case of Kodungalloor and Kochi. APF, *Acta 98*, ff. 82-83; APF, *CP 109*, ff. 61-62. The Dutch authorities opposed the Padroado bishops and published an edict prohibiting the Christians from recognizing the Portuguese bishops. The Carmelites made use of this situation to establish their supremacy in Malabar.

9 By the middle of the seventeenth century the Portuguese power in the East was in decline. The English and the Dutch captured many of the Portuguese territories. The Dutch attacked the Portuguese: in 1641 Malacca, in 1654 Ceylon and in 1660 Kodungalloor and Kochi. By 1663 the Portuguese monopoly over Malabar was in full decline giving way to the Dutch. With the capture of Kochi on January 7, 1663, all the missionaries except a few Franciscans had to quit Malabar.

course[10], but with the constant effort of Propaganda[11] the Carmelites were again allowed to remain in Malabar through the Amsterdam Decree[12] of April 1, 1698, made by the Batavian Society of East Indies. Thus the Carmelite mission among the Suriani Catholics of Malabar was left free politically as well as ecclesiastically. Propaganda in its Particular Assembly of January 11, 1700, decided the following:

> Because of the prolonged absence of the archbishop of Kodungalloor and of the bishop of Kochi from their respective dioceses, for the spiritual care of those parts, the Holy Father is to be ap-

10 Sebastiani too had to leave Malabar due to the Dutch capture of Kochi. Therefore, the Suraini Catholics were fortune to have their own prelate, Chandy Parambil. APF, *SOCG 234*, ff. 381r-382v. The Carmelites, who wished to have supremacy in Malabar, as coadjutor to bishop Chandy, elected Raffael Figueredo de Salgado (APF, *SOCG 659*, ff. 296v, 298r), against the prescriptions of the Holy Father and against the will of bishop Chandy and that of the Dutch commander. In the papal brief, the Holy Father asked them to elect a native of Malabar, and not an European. ASV, *Sec. Brev. 1551*, f. 47v. Regarding the decision of Rome to elect a coadjutor to bishop Chandy see APF, *SOCG 473*, f. 401v; APF, *SOCG 453*, ff. 200r-201v; APF, *SOCG 659*, f. 296r.

The Carmelites were unwilling to leave the rule of the Malabar Church in the hands of the native prelates, although they were prohibited in Malabar by the Dutch. But after a long negotiation with the Dutch government through the Internunzio in Fiandra and the apostolic vicar in Holland, Propaganda finally decided to send to Malabar a group of Discalced Carmelites. The documents regarding the events are: APF, *Acta 35*, ff. 46Ar, 246v-247r; APF, *Acta 36*, ff. 53r-55r, 78r-79v, 125v; APF, *Acta 37*, ff. 37v, 298v, 299v-300v; APF, *Acta 38*, ff. 175-176; APF, *Acta 39*, ff. 33v-35r, 149r-152r; APF, *Acta 41*, ff. 93r-95v, 190r-v, 228r-237r; APF, *SOCG 422*, ff. 206r-211v, APF, *SOCG 423*, ff. 453r-472v; APF, *SOCG 427*, ff. 116r-142r; APF, *SOCG 429*, ff. 179r-221r.

11 The Carmelites, sensing the prohibition of the Portuguese bishops in Kodungalloor and Kochi, tried their best to obtain supremacy over the Mar Thoma Christians, even though the latter wanted to have autochthonous bishops. Pope Innocent XII (1691-1700) deputed Fr. Peter Paul of St. Francis, ocd, to negotiate with Emperor Leopold I of Germany, so that he might influence the Dutch government to remove its prohibition in Malabar against the foreign missionaries. The prohibition was partially removed on certain conditions: 1. The bishop and the missionaries should be Discalced Carmelites acceptable to the Dutch Society. 2. They should be Belgians (Dutch), Germans or Italians and their number should not be not more than ten or twelve. 3. They should not live in the cities and forts possessed by the Dutch. 4. They should observe the orders of the Dutch Society. 5. They should not bring any harm to the good relation between the same Society and the Mar Thoma Christians. 6. They should not deal with any matter which would be prejudicial to the Society, and they should inform the Society all that they might come to know, which would be either prejudicial or useful to the Dutch. 7. The missionaries should not exercise any superiority over the churches of the Mar Thoma Christians and should leave them to be administered by themselves or by those who might be more pleasing to them. 8. The exercise of the Catholic religion in Malabar would be continued in the state it had been tolerated till then. 9. The permission for the bishop and the missionaries was given with the hope that the Emperor would stop or at least moderate the persecutions against the Protestants in Hungary through the mediation of the same Fr. Peter Paul, or else, the permission would be revoked. See APF, *CP 109*, ff. 60-61; AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 205-207.

12 See FERROLI, *Jesuits in Malabar*, 132.

> proached to depute an apostolic vicar in *Serra* [Malabar][13] with episcopal character .... The term of the office of the apostolic vicar is to last until the above-mentioned prelates would personally reach their dioceses. Meanwhile, the archbishop and the bishop should be asked not to exercise any jurisdiction in the same diocese during their absence[14].

Accordingly, Angelus Francis of St. Theresa, ocd, was appointed the apostolic vicar of Malabar on February 20, 1700[15]. Although he had to renounce[16] his authority with the appointment of John Ribeiro, sj, to the see of Kodungalloor by the king of Portugal as a protest to Propaganda's procedure, with the extension of the jurisdiction[17] of the apostolic vicar over areas where Padroado bishops were impeded from exercising jurisdiction, on March 13, 1709, through the effort of Pope Clement XI, Angelus Francis came again into office. Thereby was perpetuated the Carmelite rule in Malabar as representatives of Propaganda.

2.2. Propaganda rule in Malabar in the initial years of the nineteenth century

The Suriani Catholics of Malabar were reunited into one flock under one head, Thomas Paremmakkal (under the Padroado rule), who was the *governador* of Kodungalloor from the year 1786 till 1799. But after the death of Paremmakkal, due to the confusions in the Church, the community was again divided between Padroado and Propaganda. During the schism (from March till December 1799) many Syrian churches came under the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha. After the schism, according to the option allowed by the state authority, many churches again followed the apostolic vicar under the Propaganda rule.

13 Although the apostolic vicariate was officially called 'apostolic vicariate of Malabar', in many of the documents it is written as apostolic vicariate of Verapoly [Varapuzha] since the residence of the apostolic vicar was at Varapuzha (in Malabar) and also to distinguish it from the prelates of Kodungalloor and Kochi (in Malabar).

14 APF, *Acta 98*, f. 85v; APF, *CP 109*, f. 63v. The original is in Latin. It is so written in the brief of February 20, 1700: "... an apostolic vicar with the title of a bishop, with the necessary faculties, and opportune to last *donec, ed quousque Archiepiscopus Cranganorum, et Episcopus Coccinen ad suas respective Ecclesias personaliter accesserint*". See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 488r.

15 APF, *CP 109*, f. 64r; APF, *Acta CP 2*, f. 97r; APF, *Acta 124*, f. 77r. He began to govern the Church from February 13, 1701. APF, *SOCG 659*, ff. 298v-299r; APF, *CP 109*, f. 63v; ASV, *Sec. Brev. 2024*, ff. 23,27.

16 APF, *SOCG 659*, ff. 299-300v; APF, *SOCG 562*, f. 300r; APF, *CP 109*, f. 66v.

17 APF, *SOCG 659*, ff. 301r-302r; ASV, *Sec. Brev. 2251*, ff. 29-30. On this case the Congregation decided to send a brief to the apostolic vicar, as was followed on March 13, 1709, in which was declared:

2.2.1. Msgr. Aloysius Mary of Jesus (1784-1802)

In the initial years of the nineteenth century the apostolic vicar of Malabar was Aloysius Mary, an Italian Carmelite belonging to the Roman province[18]. On July 30, 1771, he was deputed for the Malabar mission[19] and he reached Varapuzha on February 7, 1773[20]. On returnig to Rome, he was appointed[21] again for the mission of Mysur and Madura on June 16, 1777, and came back to Malabar in 1781[22]. He was appointed *Episcopus Usulensis in partibus* and apostolic vicar of Malabar on March 30, 1784[23], was consecrated bishop at Pondicherry on November 25, 1785[24], and assumed the office on February 10, 1787[25].

Upon taking charge of the apostolic vicariate he sent a report of the situation of the Malabar Church to Propaganda[26], in which he expressed doubt regarding his jurisdiction over the Syrian churches in Malabar, since the appointment of Cariattil as the archbishop of Kodungalloor did not please him[27].

"Facultates Tibi per Innocentii Praedecessoris Nostri Litteras (i.e., the brief sent on February 20, 1700, to the apostolic vicar) concessas quoad eas dumtaxat Ecclesias, et loca praedictarum respective Dioecessum, in quibus praedicti Archiepiscopus, et Episcopus jurisdictionem suam libere exercere impedirentur, et quamdiu in posterum impediri contingerit, et non ultra firmaque in reliquis remanente eorumdem potestate, durare debere". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 488r.

18 Aloysius Pinazzi was born on December 3, 1743, in Muroscopa (Vercelli). He made his profession as a Discalced Carmelite on January 10, 1762, at Rome. AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 282.

19 APF, *Acta CP 12*, f. 171r.

20 APF, *SC IOC 33*, f. 533.

21 The decree of his appointment dated September 9, 1773, is in APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 553.

22 AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 22.

23 APF, *SC IOC 37*, ff. 637-638. The brief of his election is in ASV, *Sec. Brev. 4020*, f. 17.

24 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 457r; AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 285.

25 AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 22; AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana* , 285. But *Note di Archivio* on *Siro-Caldei-Malabar* gives another date, January 15, 1786, when he took charge of the office of the apostolic vicar. See APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 457r.

26 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 457r. His report was taken into discussion in the General Assembly of Propaganda Fide of February 18, 1788, by Cardinal Carrara. In the report Aloysius Mary informed the Congregation that the major part of the Syrian or Chaldean parishes were in the kingdom of Thiruvithamkoor and others in the state of Kochi, three in the French dominion and the rest especially the Latin parishes, in the dominion of the Dutch Company. APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 457r-v.

27 The appointment of Cariattil as archbishop in the see of Kodungalloor to govern all the Syrians in Malabar pleased the Syrians, although it displeased the Carmelites. They thought that such an appointment

2.2.1.1. Antipathy towards the Carmelites[28]

In the year 1788 the Apostolic Vicar Aloysius Mary wrote to the Congregation that the Christians of Malabar were not willing to be under the jurisdiction of the apostolic vicar[29]. The death of Mar Cariattil, he held, was the proximate cause of the contention. In an explanatory letter he wrote that

> The Syrians came to know about the death of Mar Cariattil, the new archbishop to the see of Kodungalloor. He took all measures to calm the faithful. In order to pacify the tempest he assured the people that he would send Fr. Paulinus of Jesus, ocd (*sic*)[30], to the Congregation to ask for a native bishop of the same rite as all the faithful desire. But after sometime the news spread that all believed that their archbishop was poisoned to death at Goa[31].

When Fr. Thomas Paremmakkal came to the archdiocese of Kodungalloor following the death of Mar Cariattil, the Syrians had the chance to express their antipathy towards the Carmelites. They naturally might have thought that the real obstacle to a successor to archbishop Cariattil was the Carmelites who wanted to monopolize the Suriani Church against the demand of Padroado. Aloysius Mary informed the Congregation of the reason for this antipathy towards the missionaries:

> In a meeting of the 84 churches held at Angamaly they [the Syrians] evaluated the pathetic situation of their Church and all they had suffered since the fifteenth century whether from the Jesuits or from the Carmelites. They expressed their sorrow in not having their grievance heard by the Church authorities[32].

was with the intention to oust the Carmelites or the Propaganda jurisdiction slowly from Malabar. Such an intention cannot be disavowed in the act of Queen Maria Francesca of Portugal, who had foreseen an eventual merging of all the Syrian Christians under him and thereby a victory for Padroado.

28 In the *Note di Archivio* the archivist sets forth *l'origine, ed il progresso dello rivoluzione eccitata da cattolici Siro-Malabari contro il vicario apostolico della Serra, da cui dependevano, e li missionari Latini del suo ordine de Carmelitani Scalzi.* APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 461r.

29 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 458r, "... che non volevano esser più soggetti alla di lui giurisdizione".

30 He should be Fr. Paulinus of St. Bartholomaeo who was a missionary in Malabar for 13 years (1777-1789). See the details in AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 285-286.

31 APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 458r-v, "Alla notizia ivi giunta della morte di Monsig. Cariattil nuovo arcivescovo di Cranganore. Procuro il vicario apostolico di calmare con tutti i mezzi ... avrebbe spedito il P. Paolino di Gesù per procurare da questa S. Congregazione le opportune provvidenze con dar loro un superiore de proprio rito, come fortamente richiedevano ... la sedizione dei Siri-Malabari contro il detto Monsig. Vicario Apostolico, e suoi missionari Carmelitani Scalzi, che venivano da detti Siri incolpati di aver procurato con veleno la morte suddetta".

32 APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 459r. In the General Assembly of Propaganda Fide on February 18, 1788, this matter was taken into discussion. Regarding the discussions in the Congregation see APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 460v-461r.

It was in such a context of weary disappointment that the mission of Paul Pandari to Baghdad took shape.

2.2.1.2. Eventful last years

The protest of the faithful of the Malabar Church against the Carmelite missionaries during the rule of Msgr. Aloysius Mary, instead of bringing forth the desired effects, gave birth to a schism—although of short duration—and thereby subsequent confusion. While the community was under Paremmakkal, the presence of Bishop Pandari in Malabar did not create trouble and, therefore, was no deep concern for Aloysius Mary. But with the death of Paremmakkal on March 19, 1799, the apostolic vicar had to face a difficult time since the Suriani community was again divided into many factions[33]. The letter he wrote in his last days shows clearly the calm attitude of Msgr. Aloysius Mary. In the letter he wrote:

> 1) Receive all the Syrian churches which want to come under the jurisdiction of the apostolic vicariate of Malabar; 2) Considering the real contrition of bishop Pandari, allow him to live in Varapuzha; 3) Treat George Sankoorickal, the new governor of Kodungalloor, with prudence[34].

The attack of Tippu Sultan caused much damage in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar[35], which necessitated the repair of many churches[36]. From the year 1795 Msgr. Aloysius Mary was very friendly to von Angelbek, the governor of the Dutch Company. He died at Varapuzha on April 2, 1802[37].

2.3. Msgr. Raimond of St. Joseph[38] (1803-1816)

Raimond, an Italian Carmelite and member of the province of Piemonte, was born on April 13, 1752, in Mombaruzzo (Alessandria)[39]. After making his profession

33 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 56r.

34 APF, *SC IO* 2, ff. 102r-v.

35 For details on the attack of Tippu see AGOCD, *Plut 267b4*.

36 The attack of Tippu and the damages caused was reported to the Prefect of the Congregation by Aloysius Mary in his letter to Propaganda on March 23, 1791. See APF, *SC IOC 39*, ff. 288-289.

37 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 295; AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 22.

38 He was also known as Paulus Antonius Roviglia. See AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 295.

39 AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 319.

on September 9, 1772, he began the study of philosophy and theology[40] at the conclusion of which he was deputed for the Malabar missions in 1783[41]. In 1787 he reached Bombay and in 1789 Malabar[42]. In the year 1794 Msgr. Aloysius Mary appointed him vicar general of the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha and provincial vicar of the mission[43]. On March 1, 1803, he was appointed the apostolic vicar of Malabar[44] with the title *Episcopus Surensis in partibus*[45] being consecrated on January 3, 1808, at Bombay[46].

In a letter of January 27, 1808, to Propaganda Msgr. Raimond wrote that he had been consecrated on the third of that January at Bombay by Msgr. Peter Alcantara, with all the solemnity[47]. In the same letter he narrated the situation of the vicariate and informed the Congregation the urgent need of the missionaries in Malabar:

40 AGOCD, *Plut 144b.*

41 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 296.

42 AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 319.

43 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 296. Aloysius Mary, the then apostolic vicar, in his letter to the Congregation on April 26, 1796, wrote about the new vicar general: "ciò che più sintesi è il non vedere nel nuovo vicario P. Raimondo di S. Giuseppe quelle qualità desiderabili per tal officio, non curandosi molto di attenersi a lodevoli costumi fin ad ora praticati in questa Missione e casa (di Verapoly): non molto impegnato per le cose del culto Divino, buon ordine della parocchia, che ad egli incombe, e non a suoi coadjutori, e senza quel grave religioso contengo, e disinteresse che devono commendevole ed amabile un superiore". APF, *SC IOC 39*, ff. 522-523. See also APF, *Lettere 285*, ff. 291v-292r.

44 He was given the faculty in the *udienze* of Pope on February 6, 1803, to be consecrated with the assistence of two priests. APF, *Udienze 41*, f. 93v.

45 AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 319. Ambrosius writes: "Quodsi non obstantibus istis defectibus, qui S. Congregationi de Prop. noti erant, post obitum D. Aloysii M. a Iesu, ab eadem S. Congregatione, per Decr. 24 jan. 1803, uti supra diximus, constitutus fuit P. Raymundus in Vicarium Apostolicum Malabariae cum titulo Episcopi Surensis i. p. (*Breve. Apost.*, quo eligitur Episcopus Surensis i.p.. prodiit 6.III.1803; illud, quo constituitur Vicarius Apost., die 1.III.1803; ASV, *Sec. Brev.* a. 1803, mart, n.5 resp.10), ostenditur, quod illo tempore vel paucissimi erant missionarii in Malabaria". AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 296. The documents (granting him the usual ordinary and the extraordinary faculties) were sent to him on April 24, 1803. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 627r; APF, *Udienze 41*, f. 243v.

46 AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 319.

47 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 607r, "...il giorno 3 di questo gennaio sono stato consecrato in Bombaino dal Monsig. Pietro d' Alcantara con tutta la solennità". See also APF, *Lettere 291A*, f. 81r. Although the appointment was in 1803, the consecration took place after 5 years, i.e., in 1808. The reason for such a delay, as Ambrosius wrote, was that the brief was lost on the way. See AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 297. Msgr. Peter Alcantara in a letter of December 24, 1805, to the Congregation wrote that the new apostolic vicar had not yet received the brief of his appointment.

> This mission of Malabar in the present situation is in a flourishing situation, which it never had enjoyed. Because of the extreme scarcity of missionaries, I cannot cultivate it. So send me at least two[48].

In the *udienze* with the Holy Father dated July 31, 1808, he was granted the same faculties which in 1802 were granted to Msgr, John Guriel, as the visitor of Malabar missions, together with the power to absolve Pandari from all irregularity[49].

2.3.1. The then missionaries

During the time of Msgr. Aloysius Mary there were four missionaries[50] at Varapuzha, yet when Msgr. Raimond took charge of the mission there was only one, Fr. Valentine[51]. In the coming year 1804 he returned to Italy[52], leaving alone Fr. Prosper, who was very new to the mission of Varapuzha as he came to Malabar only in 1803[53]. So during the years 1803 and 1804 in the apostolic vicariate of Varapuzha there

48 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 607r (letter of Msgr. Raimond to Propaganda on January 27, 1808), "...questa missione del Malabar si trov[erebbe] nel presente istante nella più florida situazione, che abbia si mai goduta. Se si trovasse provista di missionari, per la estrema scarsezza de quali (con avendo altri, che il P. Prospero, quel deve anche attendere agli affari domestici, che non sono pochi) mi sende presso che impossibile il coltivarla ... so spedirmene almeno due". He continues in the same letter: "...perche oltre l'assistenza di Dio manifesta immediata, vi concorre anche la mediata per mezzo dei signori inglesi, li quali con il potere, che esercitano in queste terre, ci proteggono, ed esistono d'un modo molto particolare; di modo che adesso per un concordato passato tra il residente britanico nei stati di Travancore e Coccino, e li ministri potenziali dei suddeti due re".

49 See APF, *Udienze 46*, f. 462r. The document reads: "non avendo avuto effetto la deputazione in Delegato Apostolico dei siro-caldei nel Malabar in persona di Msgr. Giovanni Giona, o sia Guriele vescovo caldeo di Salsmut, ed essendosi deputato in di lui vece Msgr. Raimondo, vescovo Surensis, e vicario apostolico del Malabar come visitatore di detta missione, si supplica affinche gli si conceda quella stessa facoltà, che gia fin dall'anno 1802 era stata accordata al detto Msgr. Giona, cio è di poter assolvere da ogni censura a dispensare dall'irregolarita il sospeso vescovo siro-caldeo Paolo Abramo Pandari quando però dia veri e costanti segni di ravvedimento".

50 For details see AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 292.

51 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 76r.

52 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 297.

53 He reached Malabar on September 23, 1803. See APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 76r-81v (letter of Fr. Prosper to the Propositor General of the Carmelites, dated September 30, 1814). But Ambrosius writes that Prosper reached Malabar on October 3, 1803. See AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 316.

were only two missionaries[54] (excluding the apostolic vicar, Raimond): Fr. Valentine of St. Theresa[55] and Fr. Prosper of St. Theresa[56].

The following list[57] shows the Carmelite missionaries working in India (*Indie Orientali*) in the years 1803, 1804.

In Bombay: Msgr. Peter Alcantara (bishop) and Fr. John Luis[58]

In Surat: Fr. Charles Joseph of St. Peter[59], vicar general of the apostolic vicar

In Delhi: Fr. Gregory of St. Mary (under the spiritual jurisdiction of the prefect of the Capucins of Tibet, although Delhi is situated in the territory of the apostolic vicariate of Mogol [Bombay])

In Carvar [Caroar]: Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anna[60]

In Varapuzha: Msgr. Raimond of St. Joseph (apostolic vicar), Fr. Valentine of St. Theresa and Fr. Prosper of St. Theresa

After ten years of missionary work in India Fr. Valentine returned to Italy in 1804[61]. Although the documents of the Carmelites witness that he returned to Italy, it

54 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 217r. (Informazione sulle missionari Carmelitani Scalzi nell' Indie Orientali per l'anno 1803, 1804), See also AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 296-297, "Revera, illo anno, quo nominatus fuit in Vic. Ap., praeter illum unus tantum missionarius Carmelita erat in Malabaribus, P. Valentinus a S. Teresia, qui iam anno seguenti in Italiam rediit. Alter iuvenis missionarius eodem anno Verapolim advenit, P. Prosper a S. Teresia. Alii annis praeteritis vel obierant, vel in provinciam redierant".

55 Andreas Manfredi (the former name of Fr. Valentine) was born in 1765 at Pieve di Teco. AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 352. He belonged to the Carmelite province of Genoa. After his profession as a Carmelite he was deputed for the Malabar missions on January 24, 1795, and he reached Varapuzha on January 25, 1796. After his missionary work in Malabar he returned to Genoa in 1805, where he died in 1831. AMBROSIUS, *Bio-Bibliographia*, 235; AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 352.

56 More details concerning him on pp. 90-91.

57 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 217r.

58 Although he was intended for Malabar, he continued working in Bombay. See APF, *SOCG 905*, f. 7r; APF, *Acta 167*, f. 3r, reads: "il Generale dei Carmelitani Scalzi informa che il P. Marco di S. Bartolomeo non è buono per missionario; bensi è di ottima qualità il P. Giovanni Luigi di S. Anna, e di degno di andare alla missione del Malabar". See also APF, *Acta 185*, f. 68r; APF, *SOCP 74*, f. 139r.

59 See APF, *Acta 185*, f. 68r; APF, *SOCP 74*, f. 139r.

60 APF, *SOCP 74*, f. 139r.

61 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 297; APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 348r (stato attuale delle missioni di Padri Carmelitani Scalzi, esposto dal P. Paolino, sindico delle medesime nel 1805), "... P. Valentino, della provincia di Genova, il quale ritorna in Europa, e deve mandarsi un altro in di lui luogo".

was very probable that he was asked to leave Malabar or that, as he felt the situation was not favourable to him[62], left Malabar. The reason for this can be seen in the two letters written by Aloysius Mary to the Congregation before his death[63]. He wrote that Fr. Valentine of St. Theresa of impetuous and imprudent genius, was not obedient and there were complaints of his insubordination[64]. Fr. Paulinus wrote to the Congregation and also to the new apostolic vicar, Msgr. Raimond: "Fr. Valentine should be corrected; if he does not obey, he should be sent to Bombay and exchanged with Fr. John Luis, a quiet and manageable subject"[65]. Thus Fr. Paulinus informed the Congregation to write to the apostolic vicar, Msgr. Raimond, advising either to retain Valentine in Malabar or send him back to Italy since his period (*decennio*) was already over[66].

When Fr. Valentine arrived at Pisa, he wrote a letter to the Congregation of Propaganda narrating his journey:

> After a decade of mission in Malabar I was transferred to Europe, which I reached after 19 months of a very dangerous and tiresome journey. Although I wished to go to Rome to inform the Congregation about the present state of that mission, because of the lack of means I was obliged to remain at Pisa[67].

He continued by brining forward his complaints:

> To make this journey I got help neither from the Christians, nor from the Church, nor from the house of Varapuzha, nor from the S. Congregation; some generous remuneration which I got from the

62 Fr. Prosper in his letter dated September 30, 1814, writes about the unpleasant days of Fr. Valentine in Malabar. See APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 77r-v.

63 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 251r.

64 APF, *SC IO 1*, ff. 251r-v, "... che il p. Valentino di S. Teresa, gia di genio impetuoso ed imprudente, poco gli fu ubbidiente, e si lagnò de la di lui poca subordinazione".

65 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 251r, "... accioche corregesse il P. Valentino, e se non volesse ubbidire, dimandarlo a Bombay per far un cambio con P. Gian Luigi, oggetto quieto e managevole".

66 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 251v.

67 APF, *SC IO 1*, ff. 584v-585r (letter of Fr. Valentine of June 19, 1807 [from Pisa]), "... finito che ebbi il decennio di missione nel Malabar mi sono trasferito in Europa, dóve dopo 19 mesi di pericolossimo e dispendiosissimo viaggio sono arrivato. Sarebbe mia intenzione di portarmi a Roma per informare codesta S. Congregazione dello stato presente delle missioni, ma il trovarmi sprovveduto affatto di mezzi da poter continuare il viaggio, sono obligato almeno per qualche tempo a tratenermi a Pisa".

68 APF, *SC IO 1*, ff. 584v-585r, "Per fare questo viaggio non ho ricevuto nessuno soccorso, ne dai cristiani, ne dalla religione, ossia casa di Verapoli, ne dalla S. Congregazione; alcune generose ricompense ricevute

> English people (for some books [history, dictionary, and grammatical] which I had to administer) helped me with the expenses[68].

He thus convinced the Congregation of all the travail he endured for the mission. After expressing his wish to die as a Discalced Carmelite in some convent, he asked the Congregation to give some financial help towards the cost of his journey[69].

2.3.2. Unpleasant years

The years of Msgr. Raimond witnessed pitiable and rather scandalous events, unworthy of the person and unpleasant to the mission. Sensing the gravity of the many complaints against Msgr. Raimond, on April 15, 1814, Msgr. Peter Alcantara wrote to the Pope:

> The apostolic vicar of Varapuzha behaves in a manner unworthy of his character; his defects are scandalous and incorrectable; if he should not be stopped in such an inordinate mode of living, the missionaries would leave that place[70].

But Msgr. Francis Xavier gives a different opinion with regard to the reason of the scandalous life of Raimond. He wrote:

da vari signori Inglesi, per alcune historie, dictionari, e gramatiche, che ho dovuto somministrargli furono quelle con le quali ho potuto socombere a tante spese".

69 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 585r. He wrote again to Propaganda, asking for the expenses of his journey. See APF, *SC IO 1*, ff. 619r-v (letter written on August 27, 1807). Together with his request for financial help, he requested to be sent more missionaries to Malabar. He wrote: "In my old age I was abandoned by the Congregation and by the religion; but not by God". APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 619v. 'A brief narration of the journey which he made together with some information on the missions' gives many details regarding the missions. See this report in APF, *SC IOC 40*, 464-472v, titled *Breve Relazione del viaggio da me fatto dal Malabar sino a Livorno, ed assieme distinta relazione delle missioni del Caroar, Bombaino, Bassora, Baghdad ed Aleppo* (August 1808, addressed to R.P. Biagio di S. Matteo, apostolic vicar of Babylonia). On December 28, 1814, he wrote another letter (from Genoa) to the Prefect of Propaganda, titled *Descrizione della cristianita del Malabar*. See APF, *SOCP 72*, f. 200r. See also APF, *Lettere 296*, ff. 137v-138r.

70 APF, *Acta CP 20*, f. 54r, "Mi trovo nell'istesso tempo, obligato di informare la Santità Vostra, che il vicario apostolico del Malabar, secondo la notizia che ho avuto, si comporta di una maniera indegna del suo carattere; che i suoi difetti sono scandolosi e incorrigibili, e che quando non si ponga un freno al suo disordinato modo di vivere, i missionari di quel luogo prenderanno lo spediente di andarsene via, e di abbandonare la missione".

Two such letters, one via Constantinople and the other via London, were sent to Pope Pius VII on April 15, 1814, by Alcantara, the apostolic vicar of Mogol. See APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 49r-v.

> Most illustrious and Reverend Raimond of St. Joseph, *Episcopus Surensis* and the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha, already for some years has been miserably troubled from a mental degeneration (*humor causticus)* which damaged his brain, casusing him to act like a boy, rendering him incapable of the administration of the mission[71].

Fr. Ambrosius commented: "He exercised the sacred functions carelessly, he overlooked his duties completely, he ignored the good advice of the missionaries, etc; thus the total ruin of the mission was imminent"[72].

When Fr. Paulinus of St. Bartholomeo wrote about Fr. Valentine (on March 28, 1804) to inform the Congregation about the situation in Malabar, he also complained about Msgr. Raimond. It was quite certain, he said, that when Fr. Raimond was vicar of the house (*vicario di casa*), in the period of nine years he never gave any report to the Congregation of the administration of the house revenues and the subsidies, although he was obliged to do so through a decree from the Congregation[73].

Taking into consideration the serious charges brought forward by Msgrs. Alcantara and Francis Xavier, the Propositor General of the Carmelites wrote to the Prefect of the Congregation:

> The reports brought to the General against the person of the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha in Malabar, Msgr. Raimond, are strong and pressing, which render an urgent repair for the good of the mission. Therefore, he should be deposed and removed from the vicariate and should be substituted by another suitable and worthy person[74].

71 FRANCIS XAVIER, *Annales Missionis*, 354, "Cum Ill.mus ac R.dus D. Raymundus a S. Iosepho, nostrae Pedemontanae Provinciae alumnus, Episcopus Surensis et Vicarius Apostolicus in Malabaria iam ab aliquot annis miserabiliter vexatus ab humoribus causticis, qui nedum in cute faede redundabant, sed et ipsius cerebrum laeserant, iam virium impos redderetur et repuerascente ingenio incapax evasisset ad missionum regimen...". In the letter, which Msgr. Francis Xavier wrote on August 30, 1816, just after his appointment as the apostolic vicar of Malabar, he informed the Congregation: "Mons. Raimondus Missioni potius obfuit quam profuit, ob eius repuerascentiam, haudquaque aberrationem moralem, ut Romae credunt ... Malum constitit in hoc: habuit in sanguine humorem causticum, qui per totum corpus circumferebatur, in cerebrum penetravit, illumque usu rationis destituit, ita ut videretur puer octo annorum". APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 242r.

72 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 297.

73 APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 251v.

74 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 168r, "Le rappresentanze avanzate al Generale dei Carmelitani Scalzi contro la persona del vicario apostolico di Verapoli nel Malabar, Raimondo, della provincia di Piemonte, sono forti e pressanti, che rendono assolutamente indispensabile pel bene di quelle missione un sollecito riparo, qual non più essere altro, che la deposizione dal vicariato apostolico, e rimozione del nominato soggetto colla sostituzione di altro più idoneo ed opportuno al bisogno".

The reason why Msgr. Raimond should be removed from the office of the apostolic vicar of Malabar, he considered, was the inappropriate behaviour of the person, i.e.,

> Immoderate use of wine[75], alienation from the religious practices and devotions, irreverence in performing the sacred functions of his pastoral office, the lewd way of behaviour in public with the youth and the women, either Christians or gentiles are the main allegations for which he was certainly noted, which cause a deplorable humiliation of the episcopal dignity and a scandal to all that Christian population[76].

Msgr. Alcantara was of the opinion that as the humble and charitable exhortations of the missionaries seemed futile, and since there was no other remedy, the deposition and the removal would be better to remedy further scandal. Raimond could stay at Mount Carmel, where he could make up for the indigence of his life. The Congregation was asked to appoint Fr. Francis Xavier, one of the four[77] missionaries in Mogol, of good character.

On September 23, 1814, Peter Alcantara, the apostolic vicar of Mogol, according to the news which received from the missionaries, wrote to the Prefect of Propaganda as follows: "During one year and more the apostolic vicar, Raimond, has led a life unworthy of his character and the validity of his ordinations is to be doubted, and he is as if lost"[78]. He expressed the idea of going to Malabar[79] to see the situation, to

75 Fr. Prosper in his letter of September 13, 1814, wrote that Msgr. Raimond used to drink 4 bottles of wine every day. APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 76v.

76 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 168r, "L'uso smodato del vino, l'alienazione della pratiche religiose, e devote, le irreverenze protananti le più sagre funzioni del suo pastorale ufficio, la maniera libertina in trattare anche in publico i giovani, e donne sia cristiane che gentili sono le principali criminazione, della quali egli viene accertamente notato, e che formano un deplorabile avvilimento della dignità episcopale, ed insieme uno scandalo universale di tutte quelle cristiane popolazioni".

77 In the year 1814, there were four missionaries in Mogol including the apostolic vicar Msgr. Peter Alcantara. The other three were: Charles Joseph, Francis Xavier and John Luis. APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 72v.

78 APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 72v-73r, "I padri di Verapoli, uno di quali è venuto in Bombaino coll'intento di andarsene in Europa, mi assicura che il vicario apostolico, Raimondo da un anno in più si conduce di un modo cosi indegna del suo carattere, che per sino essi mettono in dubbio la validità delle sue ordinazioni, e quasi pensano che si divenuto perso".

79 Msgr. Alcanatara wanted to go to Malabar together with Fr. Prosper, who was staying at Bombay with the intention of going to Europe.

speak with the bishop and to examine his behaviour[80]. The next year he wrote again to the Congregation saying that the apostolic vicar was absolutely incapable of governing the mission and, therefore, there was urgent need of a coadjutor[81].

Considering the aforesaid causes, the General Assembly of Propaganda on August 18, 1815, decreed that Msgr. Raimond should be asked to resign[82], an act approved by Pope Pius VII. Fr.Francis Xavier of St. Anna, ocd, was appointed the new apostolic vicar of Malabar[83]. Msgr. Raimond died on July 7, 1816, before the letter of his dismissal and the brief of the appointment of Msgr. Francis Xavier reached Malabar[84].

2.4. Fr. Prosper of St. Theresa, ocd

In 1804 when Fr. Valentine left Malabar, although Fr. Prosper of St. Theresa[85] was alone in Malabar, Fr. Nicolas of Jesus Mary came in 1811 as his co-missionary in Malabar; for many years they worked together[86] in Malabar with Msgr. Raimond[87]. Fr.

80 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 73r.

81 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 206r, "... egli si trova assolutamente incapace di governare la missione".

82 APF, *Decreta 8*, ff. 289r-v, "Quum maxime expedire visum sit, ut R.P. Raimundus a S. Joseph, Vicarius Apostolicus in Malabarica ob adversam eius valetudinem, aliasque causas, Vicariatus eiusdem munere exoneretur".

83 APF, *Udienze 53*, f. 474r, Essendosi ricevuti dei gravi e replicati riscontri della reprensibile condotta di Monsig. Raimondo di S. Giuseppe, vicario apostolico del Malabar, questa Sacra Congregazione è venuta nella determinazione di rimuovere il detto soggetto de quel vicariato, e di sostituirgli il P. Francesco Saverio di S. Anna, Carm. Scalzo, attuale missionario nel Mogol, della cui probità, e savia condotta si hanno le più favorevoli testimonianze. Si supplica Sua Santita a degnarsi di approvare la suddette ripluzione. Ex Audientia SSmi die 18, August 1815. Il Cardinale Litta. See also APF, *Lettere 296*, ff. 185r-v, 186v-187v.

84 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 298; APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 525v (letter of Francis Xavier of December 10, 1818); APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 246v (letter of Msgr. Peter Alcantara to Propaganda on October 19, 1816). In his letter Msgr. Alcantara informed the Congregation: "... ho già avuto la notizia della morte di Monsig. Raimondo, vicario apostolico del Malabar; egli è morto alli 7 di luglio del corrente anno munito dai sacramenti, dopo una malatia di 14 giorni sofferta con una costante invidiabile pazienza". He wrote also that the letter (of discharging from the office) to Msgr. Raimond was with him at Bombay. See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 246v.

85 Jacobus Aurelio (the former name of Fr. Prosper) was born on July 3, 1777 in Valle d'Oneglia. AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 316. Fr. Prosper reached Malabar on October 23, 1803. APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 76v (letter of Fr. Prosper of September 30, 1814, from Bombay).

86 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 206r (letter of Msgr. Alcantara on November 12, 1815).

Prosper, who was a member of the Roman province (of the Carmelites)[88], was appointed for the mission of Malabar on March 20, 1802[89], and he arrived in Malabar on October 23, 1803[90].

From 1804 till 1817 the vast mission of Malabar was governed by only two missionaries. The need of more missonaries and as well as of suitable ones was always mentioned in the letters[91] of the apostolic vicars and the missionaries duing this period. In addition, the two missionaries who were then in Malabar were not in good terms with each other. The complaints against Fr. Prosper were many and severe, causing in great part the decadence of missionary work in Malabar.

2.4.1. Complaints against Fr. Prosper

Msgr. Alcantara, while informing the Congregation about the situation of Malabar and the pressing need of a coadjutor to Msgr. Raimond, wrote that although he (Msgr. Alcantara) had once proposed as a candidate Fr. Prosper, the senior and one who knew the language and the customs of the land, he was then of a contrary opinion and accordingly would not propose anybody[92]. The reason he brought forward for his unwillingness to nominate Prosper was:

87 When Fr. Proper arrived at Varapuzha, Msgr. Raimond was only bishop-elect and vicar general of Varapuzha and Fr. Valentine, the vicar of the house. After four months of his arrival he was made the vicar of the house, substituting Fr. Valentine. APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 76v.

88 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 525r (letter of Fr. Francis Xavier on December 10, 1818).

89 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 627r. Fr. Prosper together with Fr. Cristopher were conceded the usual faculties in *udienze* of the Holy Father. See APF, *Udienze 40*, f. 150r.

90 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 76v (letter of Fr. Prosper written on September 30, 1814, from Bombay).

91 See APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 525r-528r (letter of Fr. Francis Xavier, dated December 10, 1818), 349r-350v (letter of Fr. Francis Xavier in July 1817), 469r-v (letter of Fr. Francis Sales, the Definitor General of the Carmelites, dated February 23, 1818), 477r-478r (letter of Fr. John Luis of St. Anna, dated April 13, 1818), 493r-496r (report presented to the Holy Father on the apostolic vicariate of Malabar by Cardinal Litta on August 27, 1818), 507r (letter of Fr. Valentine, dated September 24, 1818), 543r-v (letter of Msgr. Alcantara, dated January 4, 1819), 26r-v (letter of Msgr. Alcantara, dated January 30, 1812), 49r-v (letter of Msgr. Alcantara, dated April 15, 1814), 72r-73r (letter of Msgr. Alcantara, dated September 23, 1814), 168r-169r (letter of the General of the Carmelites to the Prefect of the Congregation on July 27, 1815), 206r-v (letter of Msgr. Alcantara, dated November 12, 1815), 212r (letter of Fr. Nicolas of Jesus Mary on the apostasy of Fr. Prosper [date is missing]), 242r-243r (letter of Fr. Francis Xavier, dated August 30, 1816), 246r-v (letter of Msgr. Alcantara, dated October 19, 1816).

92 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 206r (letter of Msgr. Alcantara on November 12, 1815).

> The scandalous contest between him and Fr. Nicolas, which lasted so long and was hard and that there was no relation between them[93] and they were not ready to hear the advice of anybody.... Fr. Prosper was of an obstinate, stiff character[94].

Fr. Francis Xavier wrote[95] the same, stating that Fr. Prosper was of a tough and savage character and he was very violent with everybody, with the result that he got much enemity from others[96]. His behaviour was so scandalous and defamatory that he was ill-appreciated not only by the Christians of Malabar, but by the schismatics, gentiles and the Jews who were then in Malabar[97]. There were also complaints against him with regard to the administration of money[98], of having relation with the Protestant missionaries[99] and with regard to his immoral character[100] and apostasy[101]. Fr. John

93 Fr. Francis Xavier in his letter of August 30, 1816, informed the Congregation that the two missionaries in Malabar were less united. See APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 242r-243v. In the letter which he wrote again to Propaganda in July 1817, he mentioned the disunity between the two missionaries. See APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 349r-350v.

94 APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 206r-v (letter of Msgr. Alcantara to Propaganda on November 12, 1815), "... una contesa lunga e scandalosa, succeduta tra lui e il suo compagno ... che anche dura al presente, senza voler communicare l'uno con l'altro, e senza voler udire il consiglio di altri... che il P. Prospero sia di un genio duro, e aspro nei suoi propri sentimenti".

95 Fr. Francis Xavier, the provincial vicar of the Discalced Carmelite religious missionaries of the apostolic vicariate of Mogol, in the first paragraph of the letter (dated December 10, 1818) wrote that although Fr. Prosper was not his direct subject [suddito diretto], he as the near *Superiore Regolare* of the Carmelites, taking into consideration the importance of the rules, should write about him. APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 525r.

96 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 525r, "... mostrò sempre un genio aspro e brutale, e violento tanto cogli altri missionari, quanto coi secolari. Questo fu motivo, per cui acquistosi molte inimicizie".

97 APF, *SC IO 2*, 525v.

98 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 525v. Msgr. Alcantara wrote to Fr. Francis Xavier that Fr. Prosper robbed him of 5000 scudi. See also AGOCD, *Plut 267d*. Msgr. Stabellini in his report of July 1, 1829 (regarding the mission of Malabar), while speaking about the then present missionary, also mentioned the complaints against Fr. prosper in the administration of money. See chapter 3, pp. 196-198.

99 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 527r.

100 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 526v, "... si maritò con una donna..."; With regard to his illegitimate relation with women see also APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 526v-528r. See also AGOCD, *Plut 267d*.

101 APF, *Acta 185*, f. 68r, "Il p. Prospero di S. Teresa, il quale dopo aver malamente vessato quelli cattolici, è divenuto ancora scandaloso apostato della religione". See also APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 527v. APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 349r, "... orribile e tristissima notizia dell' apostasia totale di un mio confratello missionario apostolico..." (letter of Fr. Francis Xavier in July 1817 to the Prefect of the Congregation). On July 23, 1817, Fr. John Luis, a Carmelite missionary in Bombay wrote a letter to the General of the Carmelites about the apostasy of Fr. Prosper. See the letter APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 353r-v. And the reply of the Definitor General regarding the subject APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 469r-v (*presso Monserrato. 23 febraio 1818. Francesco Salesio di S. Brunone, Carm. Def. Gen.)*. APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 212r. See also APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 257r, 258v.

Luis of St. Anna, in a letter of April 13, 1818, wrote to the Congregation portraying the apostasy of Fr. Prosper. Note his words:

> The apostasy of Fr. Prosper induced me to write this letter; apostasy from religion (at least exteriorly), from the Order; he robbed the house of Varapuzha, married a woman with whom he was living. This news is spread not only in Malabar, but also in all parts of India[102].

All these complaints forced Prosper to leave the house of Varapuzha[103]. In 1814 he went to Bombay with the intention of returning to Italy, but Msgr. Alcantara, considering the extreme necessity of missionaries in Malabar, induced Fr. Prosper to go back to Malabar. Thereby he went back to Malabar with Alcantara in November 1814[104]. In 1816, when Msgr. Alcantara went to Malabar to give ordination, Fr. Prosper left the house of Varapuzha and lived in the house of an English person. Although Msgr. Alcantara wrote a very strong letter to Prosper, he did not answer[105]. In February 1818 he arrived at Goa and lived in a convent of the Carmelite Tertiaries[106]. There, after the confession of his sins and the readiness of conversion[107], he was absolved from the censures and the irregularities by the archbishop and allowed to celebrate Holy Mass publically[108]. After ten months of stay at Goa[109] he went to Rio de Janeiro[110]. In 1833 he returned to Italy and in 1854 died at Rome[111].

102 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 477r, "L'apostasia del p. Prospero accaduta a 24 Giugno dell' anno scorso indusse a scrivere a Vostra Eminenza, per communicare quell'infausta notizia... apostasia dalla religione (almeno esterioramente) apostato dall'ordine, rubbò la casa di Varapuzha, considerabilmente e nell'istesso giorno maritò publicamente una donna del paese colla quale viveva... e disprezzato fosse quel detestabile apostasia in tutto il malabar, e tutte le parti dell'Indie".

103 AGOCD, *Plut 267d*.

104 APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 525r-v. See also APF, *Lettere 299*, f. 94v.

105 See APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 526r-v.

106 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 527r; APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 477r.

107 APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 477r (letter of Fr. John Luis of April 13, 1818), 547r (letter of Msgr. Alcantara of February 3, 1819).

108 APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 528r-v.

109 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 528v. See the words of Fr. Francis Xavier: "the archbishop of Goa received him with paternal love and generosity and gave him 4 scudi monthly for his maintenance".

110 APF, *Acta 185*, f. 68r. The journey costed 300 scudi. See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 528v (letter of Fr. Francis Xavier of December 10, 1818, from Sunkeri); APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 477v. In a letter sent to the Prefect of Propaganda on February 3, 1819, Msgr. Alcantara wrote that Fr. Prosper left Goa to Rome in a Portuguese ship. See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 547r.

111 AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 316.

2.5. *Msgr. Milesius Prendergast (1821-1827)*

After Msgr. Raimond (+1816), with an intervening gap of 5 years, the Irish Carmelite, Msgr. Milesius Prendergast, was appointed apostolic vicar of Malabar. However, the period between these two apostolic vicars was one of constant change of authorities, effecting passive results in the apostolic vicariate of Varapuzha.

2.5.1. *The interim period*

As successor to Msgr. Raimond, Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anna, a missionary in Carwar and the provincial vicar of the Discalced Carmelite religious missionaries[112], was appointed the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha as *Episcopus Curiacensis* or *Curiensis*[113]. The brief dated September 5, 1815[114], reached him on August 17, 1816. On August 30, 1816, Fr. Francis Xavier wrote to the Congregation expressing his unwillingness to accept the office and sent the brief back to Rome[115]. Glad about the election of Fr. Francis Xavier, Msgr. Peter Alcantara, the apostolic vicar of Mogol, wrote to the Congregation:

> I am very much satisfied that Fr. Francis Xavier was elected bishop of Carmia and the apostolic vicar of Malabar. Because of his talents and the good character he merited such an appointment to this dignity. But it is displeasing to hear that he resolved not to accept it, as he wanted just to have the title of provincial vicar. I recently wrote inducing him to come to Bombay so that he might be consecrated by me.... The mission of Malabar needs a good pastor, but I fear that my efforts would become as futile as the former ones since he is very stern in his decisions[116].

112 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 525r.

113 See APF, *Lettere 296*, ff. 188r-189r, 228r-v, 235r-v, 319v-320r. *Curiacensis* is Carmia in Cyprus.

114 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 201v.

115 APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 242r-v (letter of Fr. Francis Xavier of August 30, 1816). In the letter he wrote also that the two missionaries then working in Malabar were not united, causing contrary effect in the missionary work. Therefore, he expressed the need of more and suitable missionaries to be sent to Malabar.

In another letter of July 1817, he wrote that Malabar had an extreme need of missionaries and a pastor. He added that it would not be opportune to send Fr. Valentine again to Malabar. APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 350r. The reason why Fr. Francis Xavier wrote in this way to the Congregation was that Fr. Valentine had many times wrote to the Congregation expressing his wish to go to Malabar again. See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 507r; APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 21r; APF, *SC IO 1*, ff. 619r-v.

116 APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 246r-v (letter of Msgr. Peter Alcantara of October 19, 1816), "sono contentissimo che il P. Francesco Saverio sia stato eletto in vescovo di Carmina, e vicario apostolico del Malabar. Egli è per i suoi talenti, e per la sua regola condotta meritava di esse, se promesso a questa dignità ... con mia

Following the refusal of the office of the apostolic vicar by Francis Xavier, the Particular Assembly held in July 1818 decided to entrust the apostolic vicariate of Malabar to Msgr. Peter Alcantara, the apostolic vicar of Mogol *ad beneplacitum S. Sedis* until a new one be elected[117]. Accordingly, complying with the decree of the Congregation, Msgr. Alcantara returning from the visit of the Missions of Madras, in 1819 came to Varapuzha and took charge of the apostolic vicariate and he ruled the Malabar Church till 1821[118].

2.5.2. *The* relazione *of August 27, 1818*

The report about the apostolic vicariate of Malabar presented on August 27, 1818, to the Holy Father by the then Prefect of Propaganda gives a picture of the situation of the Malabar Church. The scarce number of missionaries and the absence of a bishop aggravated the situation. The *relazione* goes thus:

> The mission of Malabar or Varapuzha entrusted to the care of the Carmelites, which number about 90,000 Catholics, after the death of the apostolic vicar, Raimond of St. Joseph, and the renunciation of that vicariate by Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anna, remained with only one missionary of equivocal behaviour and a few indigenous ignorant clergy. I solicited the Propositor General of the Carmelites many times to present the subjects to provide for the needs of that Church. He replied to me that he would send 4 or 5 missionaries to India[119].

As the situation was so, it seemed opportune to appoint Msgr. Prendergast. Accordingly, the *relazione* continues:

dispiacere che egli non si vuol risolvere ad accetarla; si è piuttosto inclinato ad accetare il titolo di vicario provinciale, che egli ha conferito il Prior Generale. Io li ho scritto ancora ultimamente per indurlo a venir in Bombaino per farvi da me consecrare, rappresentandoli soppratutto la necessita ... che la missione del Malabar di un pastor, ma temo che questi miei ultimi sforzi saranno cosi inutili come i primi, per essere egli troppo fermo nelle sue risoluzioni".

117 APF, *Acta CP 20*, ff. 52, 61. "Commisit curam eiusdem Vicariatus Apost. Malabarium D. Petro Alcantara, Vicario Ap. Mogolitano, ad beneplacitum S. Sedis, usquedum provideatur de novo vicario apostolico". See also APF, *Lettere 299*, f. 595v.

118 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 299.

119 APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 493r-v, "L'estera missione del Malabar, o Verapoly nelle Indie Orientali affidatta alla cura dei Carmelitani Scalzi, che conta circa 90 mila cattolici, dopo la morte del vicario apostolico Monsig. Raimondo di S. Giuseppe, e la rinuncia di quel vicariato fatta formalmente col ritorno dei Brevi Pontifici dal P. Francesco Saverio di S. Anna è rimasto con un solo carmelitano di equivoca condotta, e pochi, ed ignoranti sacerdoti indigeni. Sollecitato più volte il Prep. Generale del detto Ordine a presentare dei soggetti onde provvedere ai bisogni di quei poveri fedeli ha risposto, che non glie possibile di spedirne... che gli converrebbe provvedere 4 o 5 missionari...". See also APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 247v.

> For many months there has been in Rome Fr. Milesius Prendergast, the provincial of the Calced Carmelites of the province of Ireland, a person provided with uprightness, zeal and correct doctrine. The purpose of his coming in Rome was to found a college for the young novices and students of his province[120].

Thus the *relazione*, in conformity with the resolutions taken in the Particular Assembly of July 1818 on the affairs of *Indie Orientali e Cina*, put forward the supplication before the Holy Father to accept the renunciation of Fr. Francis Xavier and to depute in the apostolic vicarite of Varapuzha Fr. Milesius Prendergast[121].

2.5.3. Prendergast as apostolic vicar of Malabar

The following are the qualifications[122] of Prendergast which the documents witness:

> 1. Fr. Prendergast, the then provincial of the Carmelites of the province of Ireland, was of an illustrious origin and his parents were good Catholics[123].
> 2. He studied for eight years consecutively philosophy and theology in the Carmelite convents of Lisbon and in Evora under famous professors in the reign of Portugal[124].
> 3. In view of the studies he made, the provincial of Portugal sent him a honourable patent of the professors for the best studies[125].
> 4. During his stay in Portugal, his literary and moral qualities were well attested. Therefore Cardinal Caleppi, the then nunzio of Portugal wrote to Cardinal Borgia that he would be promoted to the first bishopric vacant in Ireland[126].

120 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 493v, "Trovasi in Roma da vari mesi il P. maestro Milesio Prendergast allora provinciale dei Carmelitani calzati della provincia d'Irlanda, soggetto fornito di probità, zelo e dottrina.... Il principio oggetto della sua venuta in Roma è stato fondarvi un collegio per i giovani novizi e studenti della sua provincia che possa servire di vivaio di dotti e zelanti missionari...". See also APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 247r-v, APF, *Lettere 299*, f. 594r.

121 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 248r. The words of the *relazione* are as follows: "... e deputare in vicario apostolico del Malabar con titolo di una chiesa vescovile in partibus il suddetto P. Milesio Prendergast perche prendesse provvisoriamente le redini di quella missione con altri scelti soggetti del suo ordine, che si è esibito di condur seco dall'Irlanda di consenso del suo P. Generale".

122 The merits of Fr. Milesius Prendergast were included in the *relazione* presented to the Holy Father. This is given in: APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 494v-496r, also in ff. 579r-580r. See also APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 248r-v.

123 This was clear from the letter which Msgr. Dillon wrote to Cardinal Caleppi.

124 During his stay in the convent of Evora, in the year 1807 due to the French invasion of Portugal he had to return to the *patria*. AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 300.

125 "una patente onorifica di professore per l'intero corso ottimo di studi favore assai insolito tra i portoghesi".

126 It was in the year 1804 that he was recommended for the episcopacy. See APF, *Acta 171*, ff. 215r-217r.

5. In Portugal the synodal examiners, after having exmanied him, referred to the patriarch that Fr. Prendergast was one of the best theologians of Lisbon[127].
6. He is well-versed in the following languages: Irish, French, Spanish, Portuguese[128].

Fr. Prendergast had so many qualifications in studies and knowledge in several languages and had virtues that would help him in the missionary work in Malabar; in addition, he held the great office of provincial of Ireland and was then present in Rome. Propaganda considered him an apt person to be sent to Malabar to take the difficult task of the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha[129]. The decision of the Congregation received approval *ex Audientia SSmi* dated August 27, 1818[130]. The apostolic brief dated September 18, 1818, states: *P. Milesius Prendergast, electus in Episc. Ecclesiae Centuriensis i. p., in Vicarium Apostolicum Provinciae Serrae Malabarium cum solitis facultatibus, ad Sedis Apostolicae beneplacitum*[131].

After the appointment as the apostolic vicar of Malabar, Prendergast was consecrated bishop in Rome. He asked the Congregation to allow to take with him some Calced Carmelite novices of the province of Ireland into the mission of Malabar, in addition to 6 missionaries from Ireland and the money needed for the expenses of the journey[132]. Msgr. Prendergast, who then returned to Ireland to visit his new provincial R.P. Thomas Finny, began his journey to India in March 1819 and arrived at Rio de Janeiro in October 1819[133]. From there he sailed to the Malabar coast and reached Malabar on January 2, 1821[134].

127 This document with great seals of the order is kept in the Propaganda. APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 496r.

128 "Egli è versato nelle lingue Irlandesi, Francesi, Spagnole e Porthogesi, le quali sono utilissime nella costa di Malabar". APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 580r.

129 See APF, *Lettere 300*, f. 274r.

130 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 494r; APF, *Udienze 56*, f. 731.

131 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 626r, 284r.

132 The following is the supplication made by Prendergast: "1. Monsig. Prendergast Episcopus Centuriensis, et vic. apo. missi. malabaricae humillime supplicat Sa. Con. pro permissione erigendi Novitiatum Car. Cal. Provinciae Hiberniae in supradicta missione malabarica, 2. quod possit secum saltem sex missionarios ex Hibernia, ut haberet pecuniam pro expensis itineris". APF, *SC IO 2*, 521r. His supplication continues thus: "pariter ac exorat pro sussidio solito annuali bis centum scutorum, et octogenta pro hospitis, et vino comparandis ad usum sacerdotum Siro-caldaicorum in quolibet anno...". See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 521r; APF, *Udienze 56*, f. 799.

133 See APF, *Lettere 300*, f. 274v, AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 301.

134 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 354r.

2.5.4. The initial difficulties

The Rome's satisfaction in the person of Prendergast and in his election as apostolic vicar of Malabar did not last long because of the difficulties which arose and the troubles he incurred even at his initial years. Although Propaganda believed that the new apostolic vicar since he was Irish would be acceptable to the English reign in India, as well as to the public, this was not the expectation. The English East India Company, which was granting a subsidy to the apostolic vicars of India, showed a reluctance to continue it. The apostolic vicar of London, Msgr. Poynter, wrote to the rector of the English College in Rome, Fr. Robert Gnadwell, on January 22, 1822, telling that he [Poynter] had got a letter from Msgr. Prendergast from Varapuzha informing him that the collector of Malabar would grant no more subsidy to the apostolic vicariate[135]. The letter relates:

> For the ruin of this mission, some days ago I got a letter from the collector of Malabar telling me that it was prohibited by the honourable court of directors to continue payments, unlike the past practice. This money was the main income of the bishop and the missionaries[136].

Fr. John Luis, a Carmelite missionary and the vicar general of Bombay, also wrote to Msgr. Poynter telling about the lack of subsidy which the English East India Company had been granting for many years[137]. He then described the arrival of Msgr. Prendergast in Malabar and the reception he received:

> We thought that his arrival would be a great advantage for the mission; but it was not so. He got only a very cool and indifferent reception by the English. The priests and the Christians of Malabar were discontent to see him and they had great difficulty and aversion to accept him as bishop and apostolic vicar, since he is coming from a Protestant country[138].

135 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 467r (extract of a letter of Msgr. Poynter, apostolic vicar of London, to Robert Gnadwell dated January 22, 1822).

136 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 467r, "Pochi giorni in dietro, col mio grande rincrescimento, e con danno irreparabile di questa missione, ho ricevuto una lettera dal collectore di Malabar, che è stato proibito dall'onorevole Corte di direttori a non pagare più, come si è finora pratticato. Siccome questo denaro è stato il principale sostegno del vescovo e di quelli missionari".

137 For details see APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 467v.

138 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 467v, "... pensavamo che la sua venuta sarebbe di sommo vantaggio a quella missione. ma non fu cosi. Egli fu accolto dagli Inglesi freddamente e con indifferenza. Quei numerosi preti e cristiani del Malabar mostrarono un discontento generale ed avversione a riconoscerlo vescovo e vicario apostolico perché venendo egli da un paese e nazione protestante". Fr. John was of the opinion that as he was coming from a Protestant country, the people of Malabar thought that he was not a true and sincere Roman catholic. See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 467v.

Although Msgr. Prendergast tried to make himself acceptable to the people, it was not so easy for him since he at 50 years of age was too old to learn the difficult language of the land[139]. Since Prendergast was accustomed to live in a good society, Fr. John Luis held, he found it difficult to establish himself among poor people[140] and he wanted to return to his land[141].

2.5.5. An appraisal of his activities

Although Msgr. Prendergast found himself out of place in Malabar, and always felt *nostalgia* for his *patria*, he did much with lasting effects for the good of the Malabar Church[142]. With his vision and ability he was able to influence the English rule in Malabar and, therefore, as he himself held, the English Resident during his time became a good friend of Varapuzha[143]. His reforms are seen in the letters which he wrote to the Prefect of Propaganda[144] and in the letter which he wrote to Mr. Pereira, the Secretary of the Orthodox Society of Madras[145]. In the latter he asked Pereira to inform Msgr. Poynter, the apostolic vicar of London, the regulations for the approval[146]. Although he was praised for the good he did for the Church of Malabar, he was held in contempt for his character, behaviour and life-style at Varapuzha.

139 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 467v.

140 "Cum ipse esset assuetus vivere in societate electa ... se non posse conformare rationem vitae suae illis locis remotissimis, habitatis tantum a hominibus pauperibus". AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 301.

141 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 467v.

142 See chapter 3, pp. 206-208.

143 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 581r (letter of Msgr. Prendergast to Cardinal Fontana, Prefect of Propaganda on November 1, 1822).

144 APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 581r-v (letter dated November 1, 1822), 609r-v (letter dated January 6, 1823), 556r-557r (letter dated July 5, 1822), 362r-363r (letter dated April 12, 1821); APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 44r-45r (letter dated July 24, 1824), 159r-160r (letter dated June 8, 1825).

145 APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 383v-385v.

146 These are the regulations by which he planned to reform the priests, parishes and the faithful of the apostolic vicariate of Malabar. For details see chapter 3, pp. 206-208. He wrote to Mr. Pereira that if they were not approved, he would revoke them. See his words: "Se questi regolamenti non vengono approvati da Monsig. Poynter, li rivocherò. Fatemi il piacere di communicare tutto cio a quel insigne prelato, affinché mi favorisca colla sua opinione". APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 385r.

2.5.5.1. *Letter of Fr. Nicolas of Jesus Mary*[147]

Fr. Nicolas, after having showed the need of more missionaries[148] in Malabar and his intention—if possible—of returning to Italy[149], wrote about the then state of Malabar after the coming of Msgr. Prendergast. He informed the Congregation of the changed atmosphere of Malabar:

> With the coming of the new apostolic vicar, all seemed to be content and they received him with all possible homage, more than to others. But after some months he showed a furious and impetuous nature.... He showed disregard towards me and the reforms, and he was almost to eliminate all the Carmelites from India. He showed contempt towards the Christians, whether priests or laity, whether Latins or Syrians[150].

Fr. Nicolas was of opinion that Prendergast was behaving in a manner unworthy of a bishop[151]; he was inhuman and unjust towards others, as shown by the following:

> He was giving penitence disproportionate to the sins. Very often people were deprived of the sacraments and were excommunicated; and the priests were suspended from their stipend. If these methods would not be sufficient, he would ask the government to chastise these persons[152].

147 Letter of Fr. Nicolas of Jesus dated December 2, 1824. See this letter in APF, *CP 154*, ff. 223r-227r or APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 225r-259r.

148 "...la nostra riforma è ridotta a scheletro per mancanza di religiosi...". APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 255r.

149 "...allora lascierò questa missione ... portarmi nel nostro convento di Napoli e morire nelle mani dei miei confratelli ... io non lascierò questa missione senza prima la venuta di altro e senza la permissione". APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 255r.

150 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 255v, "Tutti si dimostrarono contenti, e lo riceverono con tutti gli omaggi convenienti, e forse più degli altri, ma dopo alcuni mesi ha manifestato una natura furibonda e fierina, impetuosa all' ultimo segno...i disprezzi praticatti verso di me e contra la nostra riforma, di modo tale che vorrebbe vedere eliminati tutti i Carmelitani delle Indie, ha principato ad usare violenza disprezzi e oppressioni contro i cristiani, cosi sacerdoti, che secolari, cosi Latini che Soriani".

151 He writes: "...sotto di un durissimo giogo senza poterne essere allievati, e se si lagnano li castiga colle sue proprie mani prendendoli per i capelli, se li pone sotto i calci con pugni, e bastonate imbrattandosi alle volte le mani di sangue con pericolo di poter morire, cosa terribile al carattere di un vescovo". APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 255v.

152 APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 255v-256r, "...l'impone penitenze sproporzionate alle colpe, ed al potere non vi è distinzione fra secolari e sacerdoti. Se non pagano li priva di sacramenti, li scommunica e son sacerdoti li sospende per farli mancare quel piccolo stipendio della Messa per vivere/estendo questi sacerdoti molto poveri/ cosa che fa compassione. E se con questo modo non può ottenere il suo fine da parte al Governo per farli castigare e per lo più li riesce godendo la protezione del Governo".

Thus instead of giving protection and help, he was oppressing the Christians.

In addition, he was found guilty of immorality. At the beginning of July 1824 one of the workers of the house came to Fr. Nicolas and narrated an incident of which he was a witness[153]. On August 12, 1824, two priests from the diocese of Kochi narrated to Fr. Nicolas another incident, which disclosed Prendergast's lack of integrity:

> We are subjects of Varapuzha and we have always respect towards the superiors. But now the superiors cause shame to our religion, by having public illegitimate relations with women. Then, what should we tell the Protestants, schismatics and the unfaithful? We are ashamed to be under the apostolic vicar[154].

As the things became worse in Malabar, Fr. Nicolas informed the Congregation about it, writing as follows:

> Three months back I wrote to Msgr. Alcantara, and he told me to give Msgr. Prendergast a fraternal correction. I found it was of no use, so I now write to you. Prendergast is continuing in his bad behaviour, and this has become a public scandal in all Malabar and the priests are unwilling to obey this superior. If the situation will not be changed they will go under the jurisdiction of Kodungalloor and there will be no need of an apostolic vicar nor of missionaries[155].

2.5.5.2. The critical situation

Sensing the seriousness of the situation in Malabar, Fr. Nicolas wrote to the Father General of the Carmelites, asking him to inform the Prefect of Propaganda to remove the apostolic vicar from Malabar, although it was a not an easy task since he was protected by the English government and was on the same good terms with the Protestants and schismatics as Fr. Prosper. The General wrote to Cardinal Fontana, the Prefect of Propaganda, suggesting that Prendergast be sent to Spain, Portugal or to

153 He told Fr. Nicolas that he saw women in the room of Msgr. Prendergast. APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 256r.

154 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 256v, "Noi siamo sudditi di Verapoly, ed abbiamo fatto sempre stima di nostri superiori, ma adesso questo superiore fa vergogna alla nostra religione, avendo un publico commercio con donne. Che diranno i Protestanti, scismatici e gli infedeli? Noi abbiamo vergogna di stare sotto il vicario apostolico".

155 APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 257v-258r, "... scrissi due lettere a Monsig. Pietro d' Alcantara su questo particolare.... Essendo poi lo scandalo publico in tutto il Malabar.... Questi sacerdoti e secolari di ambo i riti si sono spiegati di non volere più obbedire a questo superiore... con andar sotto la giurisdizione di Portoghesi, cioè del vescovato di Cocino e arcivescovato di Cranganore... che se non vi si dara imminente rimedio tutte le chiese saranno una voltata di spalle alla giurisdizione di Verapoli ed allora non sara più necessario il vicario apostolico, né i missionari".

Brazil[156]. Moreover, as the Christians of Malabar for 180 years now were content with the Carmelite missionaries, it would be better to send another one[157] to Varapuzha, peaceful, educated and of good qualities, to provide for the present needs of Malabar[158]. And he said that it was not necessary that he know Portuguese since he himself could manage Portuguese[159]. So he held the view:

> The present disorder is to be remedied as these Christians are living amidst the gentiles, and such a bad example of a superior is enough to give a false idea of religion. I tell all this according to my conscience, the rest depends upon the Congregation[160].

Besides this letter[161], the priests[162] of the apostolic vicariate of Varapuzha wrote a letter to the Prefect of Propaganda dated October 18, 1824[163], which showed the charges[164] against Msgr. Prendergast.

156 See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 258r, "... di mandarlo in Spagna, Portogallo, o Rio de Janeiro, dove potrebbe servire la Santa Chiesa con maggior vigore, di quello che può nel Malabar clima molto caldo e nocivo alla sua salute".

157 Fr. Nicolas proposed Fr. Valentine who returned to Genoa. Note his words: "sarebbe ottimo P. Valentino della provincia di Genova, che sa la lingua malabara, istruito di questa missione, e tenuto in buon concetto da questi cristiani, e se questi non vorra deve trovarne un altro, ed anche obligarlo". APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 259r.

158 "... che eligendosi altro vicario apostolico che sia Carmelitano scalzo, edificante per onore del nostro abito e della nostra riforma, dapoicche questi cristiani per lo spazio di circa 180 anni hanno sempre acclamati e si sono dimostrati contenti di essi". APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 259r.

159 He was of the opinion that Portuguese was easier to be understood; Malayalam instead was very difficult. But there could have been the help of interpreters. So it would not have been a great problem for the new coming one. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 259r.

160 APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 259r-v, "... al presente disordine si deve dare imminente provvidenza perché questi cristiani sono nel mezzo degli infedeli, ed il mal esempio di un superiore è bastante di farli subito cascare in una falsezza di religione... e tutto cio che io dico per discarico di mia cosceienza, restando tutto a carico della Sacra Congregazione".

161 Before writing this letter to the General, he wrote many letters to Msgr. Alcantara on the critical situation of Malabar. APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 251r.

162 One letter (in Latin) was sent by 19 Latin priests of the apostolic vicariate, which was directed to the Prefect of Propaganda, and the other one by the Syrian priests of Varapuzha (in Portuguese) directed to Msgr. Alcantara. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 251r.

163 This letter is seen in APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 252r-254v (original is in Latin) or in APF, *CP 154*, ff. 220r-222v.

164 For details see AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 302.

In the light of the above-mentioned letters, the Congregation of Propaganda with the approval of Pope appointed Msgr. Maurilius Stabellini, bishop of Dolica and the coadjutor to the apostolic vicar of Mogol, Msgr. Peter Alcantara, to inquire about the accusations against Msgr. Prendergast. The letter was sent on July 9, 1825[165], which reached him on March 17, 1826[166].

2.5.6. The report by Msgr. Stabellini[167].

According to the pontifical decree, Msgr. Maurilius Stabellini came to Varapuzha on May 16, 1826[168]. He expressed the intent of his arrival in Malabar in the following words: "I was entrusted with the task to present before this Congregation the truths in the accusations[169] which are against the apostolic vicar, Msgr. Prendergast"[170]. After having studied the matter presented in the various letters[171] written either by the

165 APF, *Lettere 306*, ff. 339r-v. The letter reads thus: "La lettera che V.S. ha scritto in data del 20 Gennaio 1825 si è ricevuta. Dai fogli alla medesima annessi ho rilevato quanto gravi siano le accuse che ricavi contro Monsig. Prendergast. ...Trovandosi poi da V.S. sussisttente la verità delle accuse contro M. Prendergast, vuole il S. Padre che V.S. manifesti qual partito Ella crede dovrebbe prendersi, accio attese le circostanze del luogo, e della persona possa darsi una provvidenza, che ponga termine al male senza perturbare la tranquilita, o compromettere chiunque Le raccomando di occuparsi della prevente commissione colla maggior sollecitudine, e prudenza possibile". APF, *Lettere 306*, ff. 339r-v. The Particular Congregation to study the accusation against Prendergast got approval in the audience of the Holy Father. See APF, *Udienze 68*, f. 483.

166 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 263r.

167 See his report in APF, *CP 154*, ff. 228r-245r (the copy). The original is seen in ff. 246r-253v. The copy is also given in APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 263r-280v.

168 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 303. See also APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478r.

169 "...un reo di molte ingiustizie commesse nel giudicare, d' incredibile cupidizia nell' estorcere il danaro dai suoi sudditi, di stravagante barbarie nel punire a suo talento i fedeli a se soggetti, di ributtante capriccio nel procedere alle ecclesiastiche censure e finalmente di sfrontata libidine onde viene accusato di avere costantamente illecito commercio con donne". APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 263r.

170 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 263r, "... Santo Padre mi viene commessa ... di participare a questa Sacra Congregazione i più sicuri riscontri sulla verità delle accuse, che furono recate contro Monsig. Milesio Prendergast...".

171 The letters of the Latin priests of Malabar dated December 2, 1824, August 24, 1825, October 4, 1825, February 28, 1826, March 27, 1826, letters of Fr. Nicolas of Jesus dated March 25, 1825, and October 10, 1825. In the letter dated October 4, 1825, is included the excommunication letter (dated September 30, 1825) by Msgr. Prendergast against the priests who had written against Msgr. Prendergast (original in Portuguese). See APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 263r-269r.

priests of Malabar or by the missionary Fr. Nicolas, and having interviewed many priests both Latin and Syrian of Varapuzha and some seminarians and also some of the laity[172] he came to the following conclusion: "I here present before the Holy Father the circumstances so that a proper decision might be taken in order to put an end to the existing difficult situation without disturbing the tranquility"[173].

He believed that as Msgr. Prendergast was English and the existing government in Malabar was also English, a quick decision was not so easy. His own words:

> As he is an Englishman and the government too I do not know what adherence he has or he can have to the government. I know only that in a letter the English Resident of Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi called him 'my friend'. So I fear if he is given an order to leave the place whether he would accept or not; he could find protection in the government[174].

So he informed the Congregation to entrust either Msgr. Alcantara or himself to make Msgr. Prendergast know that it was the will of the Congregation that he would leave Malabar[175]. If he would not hear of it and remain in Varapuzha without interfering in the administration of the missions, it would be better to appoint another bishop for Varapuzha whom the people and the clergy could follow. Moreover, the company of another bishop would be very useful for Msgr. Prendergast[176]. Therefore, Stabellini wrote to the Congregation of Propaganda: "the state of things in Malabar which is in

172 For the names of the persons Msgr. Stabellini interviewed and the details see APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 269v-276r. Note his words: "Oltre queste deposizioni giurate di cose particolari circa questo punto toccante persone da me esaminate privatamente sotto giuramento, compresse le gia notate sono arrivate sino a questo giorno 28 luglio a 141 persone cio è 30 preti latini compresso il R.P. Nicola, 17 seminaristi latini, 70 sacerdoti soriani, 13 seminaristi soriani e 11 secolari, e tutte hanno deposto sotto giuramento di aver inteso a parlare di questo disordine del sesto precetto, e un gran parte di esse di averlo inteso, da persone degne di fede". APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 276r.

173 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 279r, "In quanto poi a cio che il Santo Padre vuole che io manifesti qual partito io creda doversi prendere, accio attesse le circostanze del luogo e della persona, possa darsi una provvidenza che ponghi termine al male senza perturbare la tranquilita".

174 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 279v, "... egli è Inglese, ed il governo pure Inglese. Io non so che aderenza Monsig. abbia o possa avere col governo. Questo solo so che in una lettera che mi scrisse il residente Inglese di Travancore e Coccino quando gli diedi avviso del mio arrivo in queste parti, lo chia[ma]va suo amico. Io temo dunque che se si ordinasse a questo prelato di lasciare il luogo e egli non volesse obbedire, ritrovarebbe forse nel governo protezione e in tal caso che sconcerti".

175 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 279v. Msgr. Stabellini expressed the idea that Prendergast could return to Europe or to some other place in India. He did not prefer Bombay, since Prendergast was English (a foreigner). See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 280r.

176 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 280r.

fermentation needs my presence there. Therefore I will remain in Varapuzha till further provision of the Congregation"[177].

2.5.7. Dismissal of Msgr. Prendergast

Msgr. Stabellini's report[178] dated July 29, 1826, was sent to Propaganda. At the Particular Assembly held on May 5, 1827[179], it was decreed that Msgr. Prendergast be removed[180] from the office of the apostolic vicar of Malabar and within three months he render his resignation letter; thereupon Msgr. Stabellini should take the office of the apostolic vicar of Malabar. The Congregation wrote: "In view of such observations, and that Msgr. Prendergast does not feel good in that mission, and that he has lost all credibility and cannot do good there, it is necessary that he be removed from that place"[181].

After having received the letter[182], Stabellini wrote on December 8, 1827, to Msgr. Alcantara, who replied:

177 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 280r, "... lo stato delle cose è in una fermentazione la quale tenuta a bada dalla mia presenza e la quale vengo assicurato, scoppierebbe in una orribile perturbazione.... Staró dunque in Verapoly sino ad ulteriori provvidenze di questa Sacra Congregazione che credo di non scostarmi dalla interpretata intenzione di questa S. Congregazione la quale suppongo che sia doversi impedire le perturbazioni e scandali per quali si voglia mezzo possibile".

178 'Relazione presentata alla Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fede da F. Maurelio Stabellini, vescovo Dioclense della informazione da lui presa circa la condotta dell' Ill.mo Monsig. Milesio Prendergast, vescovo Centuriense, e vicario apostolico del Malabar'. See APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 263r-280v; APF, *Udienze 68*, ff. 488r-489v.

179 'Congregazione Particolare del 5 Maggio (Sabato) 1827 ordinata da Leone XII per esaminare le cose dedotte a carico di Monsig. Prendergast, vicario apostolico de Malabar'. See APF, *CP 154*, f. 213r. The Particular Congregation consisted of the Cardinals De Gregorio and Bertalozzi with the Secretary of the Congregation Caprazzo. APF, *CP 154*, f. 214r. Details on the same see in APF, *CP 154*, ff. 213r-262r; APF, *Udienze 68*, f. 488.

180 The reasons for his removal from the office of apostolic vicar is given in APF, *CP 154*, f. 256r. They are: "1. ingiustizie commesse nel giudicare. 2. cupidizia nell' estorcere denaro da suoi sudditti. 3. barbarie nel punire a suo talento i fedeli a se soggetti. 4. abuso di censure ecclesiastiche. 5. illecito commercio con molte donne". See also APF, *Lettere 308*, ff. 325v-327r, 342v-343r.

181 APF, *CP 154*, f. 257v, "... a fronte però di tali osservazioni convengo nel sentimento di Monsignore ... ed è che Monsig. Prendergast non sta piu bene in quelle missioni... ha perduto il credito, e non può più operarvi il bene. Conviene, dunque, procurare di rimuoverlo dacola".

182 From the Congregation one letter was sent to Msgr. Prendergast and another to Msgr. Stabellini. In the letter to Msgr. Prendergast, he was informed by the Congregation that the accusations against him were

> I received a letter from Msgr. Prendergast dated December 8, 1827, in which he informed me that he got a letter from Rome by which he was deprived of the office of the apostolic vicar and in his place Msgr. Stabellini, my coadjutor was appointed. And he indicated his intention of coming to Bombay[183].

Accordingly, Prendergast went to Bombay and arrived there on January 31, 1828. Msgr. Alcantara writes[184] about his days in Bombay:

> It is already one and a half years that Msgr. Prendergast stayed with me and he showed the intention of staying long with me. He is doing well and he is of much advantage to this mission as he takes care of the English and Irish Catholics[185].

In another letter dated January 3, 1832, Msgr. Alcantara wrote to Propaganda:

> Msgr. Prendergast behaves well and he is of great utility for the English and Irish Catholics. I have given him the care of the church of Colaba. He receives from the government for his work 75 scudi monthly. He is now 66 years old and it should be left to his will whether to return to Europe or not[186].

The ten years of his activities in Bombay for the spiritual wellbeing of the English and Irish people were satisfactory according to the many letters[187] of Msgr.

found to be true according to the documents and, as he was incapable of giving spiritual help to the people in Malabar, the Congregation came to the conclusion of removing him from the functions of the apostolic vicar. See APF, *CP 154*, f. 261r. See APF, *Lettere 308*, ff. 325v-327r.

183 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 497r, "... Monsig. Prendergast per sua lettera in data dello 8 del presente mi fa sapere, che ha ricevuto una lettera da Roma per cui viene egli privato dell' ufficio di vicario apostolico, e in suo luogo sostituito Maurelio Stabellini mio coadjutore, e che in consequenza di tal determinazione, egli ha risoluto di ritirarsi in Bombaino". See also APF, *Lettere 309*, f. 465r.

184 Msgr. Alcantara writes a letter to the Prefect of Propaganda on July 29, 1829. See this letter in APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 575r-v.

185 APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 575r-v, "Che gia un anno e mezzo che Prendergast sta in mia compagnia, e che mostra di volerci anche stare per lungo tempo in avvenire. Confesso che la di lui compagnia mi è assai cara, perche si comporta bene, e perche ancora è di grande vantaggio a questa missione, in quantoche è il solo che predica agli inglesi e irlandesi cattolici. Msgr. Alcantara continues: lo ho affidato la cura della nuova chiesa di Colaba fabricata ultimamente dal governo per comodo dei soldati cattolici, per cui viene egli a ricevere dal medesimo governo 40 scudi al mese". See also APF, *SC I 4*, f. 612r.

186 APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 2r-v, "Monsig. Prendergast si comporta bene, ed è di una grande utilità per gli irlandesi e inglesi cattolici. Egli sta in mia compagnia...io ci ha dato la cura della chiesa di Colaba e riceve dal governo per il suo travaglio setta[nta] cinque scudi al mese... se a caso volontariamente si risolvesse a lasciare Bombaino".

187 See the letters of Msgr. Alcantara dated January 3, 1832 (APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 1r-v), January 21, 1833 (APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 98r-99r), June 29, 1834 (APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 307r-308r); letters of Fr. Nicolas dated August 30, 1832 (from Varapuzha) (APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 55r-v), October 20, 1836 (from Bombay) (APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 890r-v); letter of Msgr. Stabellini dated July 30, 1835. APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 568r-569r.

Alcanatara, Msgr. Stabellini and Fr. Nicolas. In the year 1838 Prendergast returned to Ireland[188] and then to Brazil, where in 1844 he died in a monastery in Rio de Janeiro[189].

2.6. Msgr. Maurilius Stabellini (1827-1831)

Maurilius was born of pious parents, Joseph and Dominica Stabellini, in Ferrara on November 20, 1777[190]. In the St. Paul convent he made his religious profession on November 23, 1794[191]. Then he became professor of philosophy and theology. He was well-versed in Latin, French, Portugese, English and Arab languages[192]. Owing to the French invasion he had to leave St. Paul and took refuge in a nearby Carthusian monastery. In 1804 he was deputed by Propaganda for the apostolic missions in Idalcan, Golconda and Bombay island[193]. In Bombay he was first destined for the Bhavnagar station in the province of Gujarat. Then he was for many years as missionary and parish priest in the Blessed Virgin Mary Church of Hope in the Bombay island. In 1816 he returned to Italy[194] and resided in a Carmelite monastery in Albano[195]. Again in 1821 he was deputed for the Indian missions and he returned to Bombay in January 1824[196], as professor in the seminary, but later was made the vicar general. In August he was appointed the coadjutor to Msgr. Alcantara, the apostolic vicar of Mogol and on No-

188 The reason why he had to leave Bombay is described in APF, *Lettere 321*, ff. 1359r-v. His obedience to the decision of the superiors and his journey to Ireland is given in APF, *Lettere 321*, f. 392v; APF, *Lettere 322*, f. 1080v.

189 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 304.

190 AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 269.

191 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 497r.

192 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 305.

193 AGOCD, *Plut 268b (Breve relazione delle missioni del Mogol)*.

194 When Maurilius returned to Italy, the apostolic vicar of Mogol, Msgr. Peter Alcantara, commented in one of his letters: "Egli (P. Maurilio) era il miglior missionario che vi aveva, e la missione ha sostenuto colla sua partenza una vera perdita". APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 232r-v. In another letter (dated September 23, 1814) Msgr. Alcantara recommended him as his successor. See AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 305.

195 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 305.

196 AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 269.

vember 7, 1824, he was consecrated bishop in the B.V. Mary Church of Hope with the title *Episcopus Dolichensis*[197] *in partibus*[198].

With the decree of July 9, 1825, he was appointed by Propaganda to study the accusations against Msgr. Prendergast and on March 3, 1827, he was given the order to remain in Varapuzha. According to the decree of May 5, 1827[199], he was appointed as the interim apostolic vicar of Malabar, an office which came into execution on December 8, 1827[200].

2.6.1. Not upto the expectations

When Msgr. Stabellini took charge of the apostolic vicariate of Malabar, the Church in this vicariate was in utter disarray due to the anarchy caused by the upheaval during the time of Msgr. Prendergast. The situation became worse due to the fisherman problem[201]. There arose also a jurisdictional problem between the dioceses of Kodungalloor and Kochi and the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha[202], as well as problems between him and Fr. Nicolas, the vicar general of Msgr. Stabellini and the sole missionary in Varapuzha[203]. In a letter which he wrote to the Propositor General of the Carmelites he expressed his wish to return to Europe since he found the situation in Malabar hostile to him[204].

197 Doliche (Tell-Duluk) is in Syria. But in some documents it was written incorrectly as Dioclea or Dorylaeum.

198 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 497r.

199 APF, *Lettere 308*, ff. 323v-324r.

200 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 619r (letter of Msgr. Maurilius Stabellini to the Propositor General of the Carmelites, dated June 16, 1830). See the words of Msgr. Stabellini: "... aver io fatta la professione di Carmelitano Scalzo alli 21. Decembre, 1827 nelle mani del R.P. Nicola, mio vicario generale supposto il Rescreto Papale che mi concedeva licenza di poter professare l'istituto primitivo in mani di un sacerdote carmelitano scalzo, nonostante l'essere io gia vescovo".

201 See chapter 3, pp. 171-192.

202 APF, *SOCG* 945, f. 857v. Due to the fishermen problem, the Latins of the apostolic vicariate wanted to be under the jurisdiction of Kochi; there were also other instances of priests changing their loyalty from one jurisdiction to the other. See APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 599r-v; APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 718r-v.

203 APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 502v-503r.

204 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 619v. See also APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 503r-v.

2.6.2. Decision to return

At the end of the *relazione* of July 1, 1829[205], Msgr. Stabellini expressed his wish to return to Italy, for he found himself despised by others, by the Latin priests and also by his vicar general, Fr. Nicolas. He narrated the reasons[206] why he wanted to leave Malabar:

> Owing to the disturbances caused by the above mentioned problem[207], new incitements have arisen against me. Not only the clerics and the priests of the Latin rite of Malabar, but also my present vicar general is hostile. Even Msgr. Alcantara is against me for not having informed him better[208].

Hearing about his decision to return to Italy, Msgr. Alcantara told him to remain in Malabar till the arrival of the new apostolic vicar[209]. But Stabellini found it difficult to stay in Malabar, giving the following reasons:

> Although Alcantara told me to remain in Malabar till the arrival of the new apostolic vicar, I adhere to his advice only in so far as I can; but when I see that my presence in this place serves to increase the evil, not to decrease it, since these priests and clerics[210] stand firm on their opinions and oppress me, which is very probable to happen as I know the genius of the nation[211].

Because he found himself out of place as Msgr. Prendergast too felt[212] he stood firm in his decision and wrote:

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205 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 481v. Together with the *relazione* he sent another letter addressing the Prefect of Propaganda asking pardon for making the decision to return to Italy. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 508v.

206 But in the letter which he sent together with the *relazione* he gave another reasons for making a decision to return to Italy. For the reasons see APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 481v-482r.

207 i.e., the fishermen problem.

208 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 508v, "Adesso si uniscono nuovi stimoli ad effettuarla stante li torbidi che sono per nascere contro di me riguardo a cio che di sopra ho dichiarato, sopra cui da certi indizi avuti ho a me contrari non solamente li chierici e preti di rito latino di questo Malabar, e il mio attual vicario generale, ma ancora, il che più mi dispiace, Monsig. Pietro per non essere bene informato in questa materia".

209 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 867v.

210 Msgr. Stabellini was of the opinion that the priests and clerics were against him, since they saw everything only from their part and not from his position; his vicar general, Msgr. Alcantara, and perhaps other missionaries as well were against him.

211 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 508v, "È vero che detto Monsig. mi ha scritto di restare nel Malabar sino all'arrivo del nuovo vicario apostolico, ed io aderirò a questo suo consiglio sino che potrò; ma quando vedro che la mia presenza in questo luogo serve più all'aumento del male, che alla sua diminuzione, perché questi preti e chierici si fortificheranno nella loro storta opinione, e mi faranno mille vessazioni, come è probabilissimo che succeda, poiché ben conosco il genio di questa nazione".

> If the things so continue I will certainly depart, since my conscience does not allow me to yield to this point; and from the other part I do not want to be a rock of scandal to this people, least to the missionaries[213].

He wrote his idea that Fr. Nicolas should take care of the mission till the arrival of the new apostolic vicar[214].

Owing to these problems Propaganda decided to withdraw Stabellini from Varapuzha and to appoint in his place Francis Xavier as the apostolic vicar of Malabar. Msgr. Stabellini ruled only four years in the Malabar Church. In January 1833 Stabellini went to Goa to ordain the deacons and to do other episcopal functions[215]. After having exercised the episcopal functions in Chimbel near Goa, he went back to Italy in 1837[216] where he lived first in the Carmelite convent in Ferrara and then in the St. Remus convent of Mount Virgin in the province of Rome. In 1848 he retuned to Ferrara, the place of his death on January 21, 1857[217].

2.6.3. An appraisal of his character

Msgr. Francis Xavier who became the apostolic vicar of Malabar and who knew Stabellini well wrote about his peculiar character as the following:

212 In this letter he wrote that what happened to Prendergast was a lesson for him. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 508v.

213 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 867v, "Se la cosa andrà così, è certo, che io partirò, perché per una parte la mia coscienza non mi permette di cedere su questo punto, e dall'altra parte non voglio esser pietra di scandalo a questa gente, e molto meno ai missionari". See his decision to leave Malabar in APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 600r.

214 His proposal and his intent is that Fr. Francis Xavier be made the apostolic vicar of Malabar, which would be an excellent appointment. See APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 867v. He expressed the same idea with regard to the apointment of Francis Xavier in the *relazione* of July 1, 1829. The reasons for his preference are given in APF, *Acta 193*, f. 482r.

215 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 98r (letter of Msgr. Alcantara dated January 21, 1833). During his stay at Goa, as the letters of Francis Xavier show, Stabellini through his letters to the Latin priests of Malabar caused disturbances in the apostolic vicariate. See the letters of Francis Xavier: APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 87r-90v, 151r-154r, 309r-314r, 718r-720v. The letter of Msgr. Alcantara, which he wrote on December 7, 1831, to the Prefect of Propaganda show how the days of Stabellini were at Bombay. See APF *SC IO 5*, ff. 2r-v.

216 AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 269.

217 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 311.

> I have known him for a long time. He is a person extremely instable when he does not meet with opposition, but is extremely determined when he has opposition. Besides, he has a highest opinion of himself on the point of doctrines[218].

Francis Xavier believed that although Stabellini was intelligent he was not prudent and his lack of prudence made the fishermen problem so scandalous[219]. Fr. Nicolas wrote: "He is learned, but not prudent, not discreet, not able to govern; he has only an external sanctity; I fear whether he is deluded"[220]. Fr. Nicolas, while explaining the fishermen problem, wrote that the proceedings of Stabellini were not prudent nor did they did conform to the dignity of a prelate[221]. Many letters of Francis Xavier and Nicolas showed that Stabellini destroyed the mission of Malabar[222]. Francis Xavier commented on this sad feature of the prelate and noted:

> 1. his ingratitude towards the Discalced Carmelites who always treated him well and who made him a bishop, 2. the malignity with which he writes against the Discalced considering them enemies of Calced, 3. his fraudulence in attributing the hatred towards the Discalced, 4. his arrogance in accusing the Discalced as the cause of dishonour, 5. his duplicity in supposing that he was made Discalced[223], but at the same time declares himself as calced, 6. his hatred towards all Discalced for the reason of Fr. Nicolas who did not approve his lunacy, 7. his mendacity in the lies, especially in the calumny, 8. his refined malice[224].

2.7. Msgr. Francis Xavier of St. Anna (1831-1844)

Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anna, formerly called Raphael Pescetto from his parents Joseph and Girolama, was born on April 25. 1771, in Oppido Celle in Liguria[225].

218 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 598v. On his instability see also APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 611r.

219 See APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 598v-599r, 611v.

220 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 601r.

221 See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 599v.

222 See APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 598v, 600v, 604r.

223 Because of the solemn profession which he made when he was consecrated bishop.

224 APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 611r-v, "1. la sua ingratitudine verso i Carmelitani Scalzi, che l'hanno sempre trattato tanto bene, e che l'hanno innalzato alla Mitra, 2. la sua malignità con cui scrive degli Scalzi e li dipinge come fazionari, e inimici dei Calzati, 3. la sua fraudolenza nel attribuire al odio degli Scalzi..., 4. la sua protervia in accusar gli Scalzi come causa del disonore ..., 5. la sua doppiezza nel supporre, che si è fatto Scalzo ..., nel tempo stesso, che si dichiara Calzato, 6. il suo odio contro tutti gli Scalzi per ragione del solo P. Nicolo, che non approvo le sue pazzie ..., 7. la sua mendacità in molte bugie, specialmente nella calunnia d'averli io scritto cio ch' io non ho mai neppur pensato, 8. la sua rafinata malizia".

225 See AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 154.

After the philosophy and theology studies, in the year 1790 he made the solemn profession and was sent to the mission seminary of S. Pancrazio[226]. There after the proper preparation he was deputed for missionary work for Bombay in 1798 and on August 22, 1799, he arrived at Bombay[227]. From there in 1800 he was sent to the mission of Karwar [Carwar] by Msgr. Alcantara. Due to the Tippu invasion many churches in Malabar, especially in northern Malabar, were destroyed and therefore he had to face a very difficult situation[228]. On August 27, 1815, he was appointed the provincial vicar of the missions[229].

As the situation in Malabar during the time of Msgr. Raimond became worse, on September 5, 1815, Francis Xavier was appointed the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha[230], although he did not accept this appointment. The Particular Assembly of Propaganda held in July 1818 accepted his renunciation[231] and entrusted the apostolic vicariate to Msgr. Alcantara.

When Msgr. Stabellini had to leave Malabar due to the fishermen problem, the Congregation decided to entrust the mission of Malabar again to Francis Xavier. On July 17, 1830[232], the Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide wrote to R.P. Honorius, the Propositor General of the Carmelites, asking his opinion of again appointing Francis Xavier the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha. Fr. Honorius replied:

> Fr. Francis Xavier of St.Anna, the apostolic missionary in Mogol, who for 32 years has been living there, whom I know personally, is one of the gospel workers, known for his sincerity of zeal, extraordinary talents and a singular prudence[233].

226 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 321.

227 FRANCIS XAVIER, *Annales Missionis*, 103.

228 A letter dated January 3, 1805, which Francis Xavier wrote to the Propositor General of the Carmelites describes the pathetic situation of Karwar. See the letter in AGOCD, *Plut 269b*.

229 APF, *SO CP 74*, f. 134r; AGOCD, *Plut 269b*.

230 APF, *Acta CP 20*, f. 382.

231 APF, *Acta CP 20*, f. 395.

232 APF, *Lettere 311*, f. 680v.

233 APF, *SOCG 945*, ff. 872v-873r, "Il P. Francesco Saverio di S. Anna, missionario apostolico nel Mogol, ove soggioma da più di 32 anni, da me sottoscritto molto ben conosciuto personalmente, è uno di quei operai evangelici, che dire si debbono fuori d' ogni eccezione nel santo ministero, per la sincerità dello zelo, per li talenti non communi, per una prudenza singolare. He continues: La delicatezza della sua

Thereby, the General Assembly of Propaganda held on September 13, 1830[234], decided to appoint him for Malabar, a decision which received approval in the *udienze* of the Holy Father on February 20, 1831[235]. So with the apostolic brief[236] of March 8, 1831, he was appointed the apostolic vicar of Malabar with the title *Episcopus Amatensis*[237] and on December 4, 1831, he was consecrated bishop in the B.V. Mary chapel of Mount Carmel in Bombay by Msgr. Alcanatara assisted by Msgr. Prendergast and Fr. Aloysius Mary of St. Theresa[238]. On January 9, 1832[239], he arrived at Varapuzha and took charge of the government of the apostolic vicariate.

At that time in Varapuzha there was only one[240] missionary, Fr. Nicolas of Jesus Mary. It was hoped that Msgr. Francis Xavier due to his calm and prudent approach could find a solution to the agitated situation of Malabar caused by the fishermen problem. The interference of Stabellini in the fishermen problem through his letters caused Francis Xavier deep concern. As he wrote in his letters, which he sent to Rome from Varapuzha after his appointment as apostolic vicar, the fishermen problem slowly calmed down and the Church in Malabar got the tranquility it had 60 years ago[241]. He suspended the troublemaking priests and sent the advocates of the fishermen problem to Bombay[242]. In almost all the letters which he wrote to the Congregation of Propa-

coscienza, e più la profonda moderazione, e umiltà lo indussero prima d'ora a rimandare, e diro cosi rifiutare le bolle (nel anno 1816)...".

Msgr. Stabellini in his *relazione* of July 1, 1829, also expressed the wish to appoint Fr. Francis Xavier as apostolic vicar in the mission of Malabar. He found him (Fr. Francis Xavier) to be the apt person. See APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 482r, 503r-v.

234 APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 847r-848r. In the same Assembly it was decided to remove Msgr. Stabellini from the office of the apostolic vicar and to request the Pope to appoint Fr. Francis Xavier instead.

235 APF, *Lettere 312*, ff. 150-151; APF, *Udienze 76*, f. 244.

236 See the brief titled *Quum per dimissionem* in *Jus Pontificium V*, 6-7; *Acta Gregorii XVI I*, 8.

237 Amata is the present day Hama or Epiphania in Syria.

238 APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 3-4. In a letter to the Prefect of Propaganda Msgr. Alcantara wrote: "P. Francesco Saverio ha avuto la imposizione delle mie mani nel 4 Decembre 1831, nella capella della mia residenza assistito d Monsig. Prendergast e P. Luigi Maria". APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 2r.

239 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 327.

240 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 694v (letter of Fr. Francis Xavier dated December 8, 1831, from Bombay), ...il padre Nicolo, unico missionario del Malabar, e anche esso quasi vecchio. See also APF, *Acta 193*, f. 501r.

241 See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 87r.

242 See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 309v.

ganda he expressed his wish of not remaining in Malabar as the apostolic vicar as he knew that the situation in the Malabar Church was not easy for him to handle. His advanced age, his ill-health, the scarcity of the missionaries, lack of finances, problems with the other jurisdiction, etc., induced him to leave Malabar[243], although amidst all these difficulties he went on quietly.

The sole priest in the Malabar mission for a long period was Fr. Nicolas. When he left[244] Malabar, there came two others, Frs. Bernardino *il Romano* and Bernardino *il Napolitano*, in the year 1834[245]. In 1836 came an additional two, Frs. Gregorius and Ludvicus on April 15, 1836[246]. After the arrival of the new missionaries, Msgr. Francis Xavier informed the Congregation that the financial situation of the apostolic vicariate was very pathetic and it was very difficult for him to provide the missionaries with living necessities. In addition, the house of Varapuzha had many debts[247]. It was Msgr. Francis Xavier who built the archbishop's house at Varapuzha in 1840 and added the new seminary to the house and in 1842 restored the B.V. Mary Church of Mount

243 See APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 90v, 720v.

244 On January 19, 1833, he was transferred to Bombay and he worked there till 1841. See AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 277. From 1841 he was in Surat where he died in 1850. AMBROSIUS, *Bio-Bibliographia*, 266.

245 See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 155r-v (letter of Msgr. Alcantara dated September 21, 1833, to the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide). In this letter he informed the cardinal that 3 missionaries arrived at Bombay, of whom two were destined for Varapuzha. See also APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 200r-201r (letter of Fr. Bernardin of St. Agnes dated December 20, 1833, from Varapuzha). See also AGOCD, *Plut 267d*; APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 718r, 719r. In a letter of September 16, 1833, Msgr. Francis Xavier informed the Congregation that due to the lack of geographical knowledge the two missionaries took a false way. Instead of taking the ship to Calicut they went to Calcutta. See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 153r. See the details about their arrival in Malabar in APF, *Lettere 316*, ff. 864r-v, APF, *Lettere 319*, ff. 483r-v.

246 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 711r (letter of Fr. Gregorius dated April 19, 1836, from Varapuzha). See also APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 718r-720v (letter of Msgr. Francis Xavier from Varapuzha to the Prefect of Propaganda dated May 12, 1836). He wrote that there were 4 missionaries at Varapuzha at that time. See also APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 148r-v (letter of Fr. Gregorius dated September 7, 1838, from Chathiath); APF, *Lettere 320*, ff. 1306r-v. Later Fr. Ludvicus was made the coadjutor to Francis Xavier. See APF, *Lettere 322*, ff. 727r-v. For a long time before his appointment Francis Xavier asked the Congregation for a coadjutor. See the details in APF, *Lettere 313*, ff. 569v-570r; APF, *Lettere 314*, ff. 78v-79r; APF, *Lettere 315*, f. 267r; APF, *Lettere 318*, f. 804r; APF, *Lettere 320*, f. 1306r.

247 See APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 719r-v.

Carmel in Chathiath[248]. He did very much for the Church of Malabar and, therefore, he was called by one of the historians of India as 'the chief of the bishops of Thiruvithamkoor and the honour of the Malabar missions'[249]. He died on December 7, 1844, and was buried in the cathedral church at Varapuzha[250].

2.8. Fr. Nicolas of Jesus Mary, ocd

Fr. Nicolas[251] who came to Malabar for missionary work in the year 1811[252], began to work at Varapuzha with Fr. Prosper under Msgr. Raimond[253]. When Fr. Prosper left Malabar, Fr. Nicolas was the only missionary in Malabar, not enough for such a vast mission as Malabar[254]. He who witnessed the unpleasant years of Msgrs. Raimond, Prendergast and Stabellini, had always to face a very difficult situation in Malabar[255]. His own last years there were not free from complaints[256]. About him Msgr. Stabellini wrote:

248 See AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 331 (Ambrosius quoted it from P. CYRIACUS, *Notes on the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic* (ms.), 39). Chathiath was the principal sanctuary in Malabar, dedicated to the B.V. Mary of Carmel, as also the first residence of the Carmelites. Due to the persecution by the king of Kochi, they left Chathiath and resided at Varapuzha, in the reign of Thiruvithamkoor. APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 148r-v.

249 AGUR, *Church History of Travancore*, 307.

250 AMBROSIUS, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 331.

251 Francesco Giraldi (the secular name of Fr. Nicolas) was born on September 15, 1777, at Naples. AMBROSIUS, *Nomenclator*, 277.

252 In 1807 he was sent to the Malabar missions, but in the years 1809-1811 he worked in the missions at Baghdad. See AMBROSIUS, *Bio-Bibliographia*, 266; AGOCD, *Plut 267d* (letter of Fr. Nicolas to the Propositor General of the Carmelites, dated October 12, 1822).

253 AGOCD, *Plut 267d*.

254 There were once 7 missionaries in Malabar. See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 481r. In the *relazione* which Msgr. Francis Xavier sent to Propaganda he wrote: tutto il peso di questa missione, che prima sostenevano 7 missionari, è cascato sopra le spalle del solo vescovo (il P. Nicolo è come se non esistesse).

255 For details see AGOCD, *Plut 267c* (Racconto storico del R.P. Nicola di Gesù Maria, dall'anno 1807 che partì per le missioni per tutto agosto del corrente anno 1832, colle risposte, e dichiarazioni alla fine ai tutti i punti del paragrafo, che il vicario apostolico D. Francesco Saverio le ha scritta contra, da esaminarsi dall'Emo Sig. Cardinal Perfetto della S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fede, del M.R.P. Generale).

256 Many of the complaints against Fr. Nicolas were meaningless. This is clear from the letter of Msgr. Stabellini written to the Propositor General of the Carmelites dated June 16, 1830. In the letter Stabellini

> At present the only missionary of the same Order, Fr. Nicolas of Jesus Mary of Naples, of the age of 48.... He exercises the office of the vicar general of the apostolic vicar and is the parish priest of three parishes; but in two of the parishes he has one assistant each[257].

He had also the charge of the temporals at the hospice of Varapuzha. He was sustained by the revenues of the properties of the house of Varapuzha and from the Mass stipends[258]. However, in regard to the buying and selling of wine for the Mass he made a great profit[259]. He was criticized for making profit in the buying of the dress for the madonna of Carmel and in buying a certain *droga amara*[260]. He was always making unnecessary credits to the infidels and the Christians, but he spent less and was careless in keeping the church and the vestments etc. clean and decent[261], causing Stabellini to

informed the Propositor General that Fr. Nicolas complained against what had been written against him by Msgr. Stabellini. He writes: "I did not want to write against him... I just answered the questionnaire from the Congregation...I have not written against his honour; I always wanted his good end... And I have not anything against his conduct..." (original is in Italian). For details see APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 619v-620r. Msgr. Stabellini thought that since Fr. Nicolas was a friend of Msgr. Prendergast, he (Fr. Nicolas) also might be culpable. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 620r, APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 502v-503r. See the questionnaire and the answers to the questionnaire in APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 495r-496v (the 69 questions) and 497r-503v. In many of the letters which Fr. Nicolas wrote to Msgr. Francis Xavier about the fishermen problem, he narrated the events through which he incurred the hostility of Msgr. Stabellini. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 599r-v, 603v-604r.

257 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 481r, "...al presente l'unico missionario di dett'Ordine... è il Padre Nicola di Gesù Maria di Napoli in età di anni 48.... Il medesima esercita l'ufficio di vicario generale del vicario apostolico, è parroco di tre Chiese, ma in due di esse ha stabilito un sacerdote assistente".

258 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 860v. This he writes as answer to the question no. 61 (*quibus mediis sustententur: an mercaturam exerceant: an aliquid pro sacramentorum administratione precipiant, et quae sit illorum fama tam apud Christianos, quam apud Infideles*).

259 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 481r. with regard to the same Stabellini writes: "Il missionario suddetto non fa specie alcuna di negoziazione, siccome però il vino per le Messe, tutte quasi le chiese lo proveggono inquesta casa di Verapoli, che lo fa venire in Botti da Bombaino, nella vendita di questo vino ho ritrovato nella rivista dei conti della casa, fatta in parte, esservi un guadagno di più del doppio della spesa".

Msgr. Stabellini, as he held, required Fr. Nicolas to restitute that which was illegally gained from the selling of wine. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 502r.

260 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 860v.

261 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 501v, "... in quanto al suo credito presso li cristiani e infedeli non ho inteso alcuna cosa che mi dia luogo nemmeno a sospettare che il suo nome sia in discredito, questo solo che passa per la bocca di molti essere Egli più economo del necessario; però sembrami che nel mentre ch' è economo in piccole cose più forse del dovere, come ancora nel tenere pulita la chiesa in quanto alle tovaglie d'altare, paramenti, in altre cose è facilissimo a dar fuori denaro senza molta riflesione". See also APF, *Acta 193*, f. 481r.

write: "With regard to the point of keeping the church clean and the sacred things, I have noticed him telling that the priests murmer about the same, but it was without effect"[262]. On January 28, 1833, Msgr. Francis Xavier wrote to R.P. Honorius, the Propositor General of the Carmelites:

> The inconveniences in the apostolic vicariate of Varapuzha because of the irresponsibility of Fr. Nicolas was very great. He is handling the economy very despotically. So it would be better to send him to Bombay[263].

In a letter dated July 24, 1833, Msgr. Alcantara wrote to the Prefect of Propaganda:

> I was informed that Fr. Nicolas would leave Malabar and come to Bombay, either to remain here or to return to Europe. I will speak about the matter with Msgr. Francis Xavier. I do not know whether is it true that he changed his behaviour[264].

Msgr. Alcantara, who had not heard any precedent complaints against Fr. Nicolas, could not easily believe the complaints against him. But as these complaints were made by the apostolic vicar, he had to treat this matter seriously[265]. Basing his judgement on the letter of Msgr. Francis Xavier, the Propositor General wrote to Fr. Nicolas to yield to the apostolic vicar and to leave the administration of the house to him[266]. Regarding the same, Msgr. Alcantara wrote to the Prefect of Propaganda: "I do not know whether, with the submission of Fr. Nicolas, Msgr. Francis would keep him with him or would send him to Bombay"[267].

262 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 502r, "Nel punto di tenere pulita la chiesa e gli arredi sacri, io l'ho replicatamente avvisato sino a dirli che li saceredoti che qui celebrano mormorano di questo; ma con poco o quasi nessuno effetto, per cui giudicando io inutile qualunque altro mio avvertimento, ho finalmente proibito a detti sacerdoti di celebrare con simili arredi, percui egli finalmente si cangio, avendo però mostrato molto risentimento di questo".

263 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 101r, "... che tutt'ora si arroga dispoticamente l'economia".

264 APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 136r-v, "... sono avvertito che il P. Nicolo dovra lasciare quella missione, e venire in Bombay o per restare in questa missione o per ritornare per Europa. Trattero questa affare in concreto con Monsig. Francesco. Non posso pero lasciar di dire che se è vero, che il P. Nicola ha mutato condotto, come mi scrisse Monsig. Francesco".

265 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 137r. Fr. Nicolas was against Msgr. Stabellini during the fishermen controversy.

266 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 146v.

267 APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 146r-v, "Non so adesso, se attesso un cosi detto atto di sommissione, Monsig. Francesco vorra ritenerlo appresso di se, oppure allontanarselo mandandolo per Bombay. He continues: a me pare che dopo aver mostrato quel religioso che veramente rispette i suoi superiori, e vuole obbedire loro".

Conforming to the order of the Congregation, Fr. Nicolas relinquished the administration of the house to the apostolic vicar, left for Bombay[268], where he helped Msgr. Alcantara in missionary activity[269]. In a letter Fr. Nicolas wrote to the Prefect of Propaganda, he stated:

> It is now almost 3 years that I arrived at Bombay, but I have not yet received the patent as a missionary of the apostolic vicariate of Mogol. I fear that after the death of Msgr. Alcantara the missionaries here would not recognize me since I do not have the patent of the missionary of Mogol, as happened in Malabar with Msgr. Francis Xavier[270].

2.9. Portuguese Padroado in India

Padroado[271] is a sum of privileges and some obligations which by the concesion of the Church is given to the Catholic founders of the Church, chapels or benefices or to their successors[272]. This right[273] or privilege of patronage is based on the recognition

268 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 288r (letter of Fr. Nicolas dated March 21, 1834, from Bombay to Cardinal Pedicini, the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide). This was against the will of Msgr. Stabellini. He wanted Fr. Nicolas to remain in the mission of Malabar and to continue the office of the vicar general. See APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 482r.

269 In a letter dated June 29, 1834, which Msgr. Alcantara sent to Propaganda, he informed the Prefect: "Il P. Nicola che fu tirato da Verapoli è nelle presente circostanze di grande soccorso a questa missione". APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 307r-v. For more details about his stay at Bombay see APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 136r (letter of Msgr. Alcantara on July 24, 1833); APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 146r-v (letter of Msgr. Alcantara on August 28, 1833); APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 228r-v (letter of Fr. Nicolas on March 21, 1834); APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 307r-308r (letter of Msgr. Alcantara on June 29, 1834).

270 APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 890r-v (letter of Fr. Nicolas dated October 20, 1836, from Bombay), "adesso circa 3 anni, che dimoro in Bombay, ma non ho la patente di missionario di Mogol. Cosi, temo che, dopo la morte di Alcantara, i missionari non riconoscermi come missionario di questa missione per non aver la patente, come accade nel Malabar con Monsig. Francesco Saverio".

271 *Padroado* is the Portuguese expression for 'right of patronage' [*direito do padroado*], generally called *jus patronatus*. There are many connotations of *padroado*: 1. royal or personal, 2. ecclesiastical, lay or mixed, 3. hereditary or familial, 4. active or passive, 5. singular, plural or collegial, 6. private or public. For details see SILVA REGO, *O Padroado Português*, 15-16. Canon 1449 of *CIC 1917* also speaks about the different concepts of *jus patronatus*. (This is left out in *CIC 1983*).

272 "Ius patronatus est summa privilegiorum, cum quibusdam oneribus, quae ex Ecclesiae concessione competunt fundatoribus catholicis ecclesiae, cappellae aut beneficii, vel etiam eis qui ab illis causam habent". *CIC 1917*, Canon 1448. (This canon is abrogated in *CIC 1983*).

273 The first pontifical document on *padroado* to establish the juridical basis was during the pontificate of Nicolas II (1058-1061). There it is mentioned as a *quase-direito* [almost right]. SILVA REGO, *O Padroado Português*, 15.

of the Church towards her benefactors[274]. The Portuguese Padroado is the result of a successive accumulation of rights and privileges bestowed upon the Portuguese sovereigns by the Church to encourage missionary enterprise[275] in far-off countries[276]. The right of patronage, therefore, includes three essential ones. They are:

1. possession of the dioceses, implying the care and/or duty to attend to the administration of money which is destined to them by the crown.
2. presentation to the Holy See by the king of Portugal the prelates of the same dioceses, within a determined time.
3. presentation by the king to the bishop, not only the canons, but also the parish priests, the remuneration paid to the priests[277].

Fr. Martina points out the obligations inherent in patronage as follows[278]:

1. The selection and the sending of the missionaries.
2. Provision for the expenses of cult maintenance and support of the missionaries, from the bishops to the sacristans, to take care of the building, maintenance and restoration of the churches (*edifici di culto).*

274 SILVA REGO, *Le Patronage Portugais*, 26. He is of opinion that it arises from the dowry, construction and donation of land according to the clause: *patronatus facciunt dos, aedificatio, fundus*. These modes are called ordinary as against the extraordinary modes which are 1. privilege and 2. prescription.

Fr. Ferroli, sj, says that it was a fairly common opinion among the medieval theologians that the Pope had a 'direct dominion' over the kingdoms of the earth. FERROLI, *Jesuits in Malabar*, 166.

275 The same idea is expressed by Fr. Martina, sj, also. He writes: "Dalla metà del quindicesimo fino al diciasettesimo secolo, da Nicolò V a Paolo V, i pontefici concessero ai sovrani di Spagna e di Portogallo privilegi sempre più notevoli, esigendo contemporaneamente da essi in compenso che si prendessero cura dell' evangelizzazione nelle terre scoperte". For more details see MARTINA, *La Chiesa*, 239-240.

276 See *BPP I*, 2-6. After the extinction of the Order of Templars in 1312, Diniz, the then king of Portugal founded the Military Order of Christ. This Order undertook the overseas expedition for the expansion of the Church in the name of the Portuguese crown. These rights, which were formerly given to the Military Order of Christ, were then granted to the Portuguese government. For details see SILVA REGO, *Les Missions Portugaises*, 9.

As the Saracens were the chief enemies of Christianity in those days, the Popes insisted that Portugal, while extending her dominions, should do her best to spread the kingdom of God. FERROLI, *Jesuits in Malabar*, 166.

277 Silva Rego narrates the rights of the patronage as: 1) possession des diocèses, impliquant le soin de veiller à l'administration des deniers qui leur sont destinés par la Couronne; 2) présentation au Saint-Siège, par le Roi du Portugal, des prélats des mêmes diocèses, dans un délai déterminé; 3) présentation par le roi á l'évêque, non seulement des chanoines, mais encore des curés. des prébendiers, etc.. SILVA REGO, *Le Patronage Portugais*, 27. Fr. Martina also narrates these rights: 1) Nomina a tutti i benefici, 2) Ammissione od esclusione dei missionari rimessa all'arbitrio sovrano, ed a condizione..., 3) controllo su tutti gli affari ecclesiastici, con esclusione di qualsiasi altra autorità.... MARTINA, *La Chiesa*, 240.

278 MARTINA, *La Chiesa*, 240.

By the bulls *Dum diversas*[279] of June 18, 1452, and *Romanus Pontifex*[280] of January 8, 1454, by Pope Nicolas V (1447-1455) the Portugese Padroado assumed its definite form. The rights and the concessions to the king of Portugal and to his successors were further extended through the bulls *Inter caetera*[281] of March 13, 1456, by Pope Calixtus III (1455-1458); *Clara devotionis*[282] of August 21, 1472, by Sixtus IV (1471-1484); *Cum sicut*[283] of March 26, 1500, by Alexander VI[284] (1492-1503) and *Sedes Apostolica*[285] of July 4, 1505, by Julius II (1503-1513). The royal patronage was confirmed by Pope Leo X with two of his encyclicals: *Dum fidei constantiam*[286] of June 7, 1514, and *Praecelsae devotionis*[287] of November 3, 1514.

279 *BPP I*, 22-23. With this bull Pope conceded to Alfonse V of Portugal the right to invade, conquer and subjugate the lands of the infidels and to possess their temporal goods. For details see SILVA REGO, *Le Patronage Portugais*, 7-9.

280 *BPP I*, 31-34.

281 *BPP I*, 36-37.

282 *BPP I*, 45-46.

283 *BPP I*, 59.

284 It is Pope Alexander VI who granted to the crown of Spain the same benefices and obligations which the Holy See had till that time granted to the sovereign of Portugal. So after the discovery of America it became a necessity to define the limits of the respective dominions of the king of Sapin and Portugal and their relative spheres of influence, and he agreed to an accord between the two Iberian powers in respect to the line of demarcation in the waters of their colonies. See SORGE, *S. Sede e Corona Portoghese*, 18. Sorge writes that this idea of the Borgia Pope, who thought this to be a practical necessity for peaceful ends, was soon interpreted as an imposition, and that the line of demarcation might have been decided by him as a way to divide the world into two parts. He gives a new interpretation according to Joseph Metzler, i.e., the 'alexandrian line' had not been traced out by Alexander VI, but was the result of long and difficult negotiations between the chancelleries of the two monarchies of Spain and Portugal. Spain and Portugal did not have any intention of dividing the universe, but only to avoid the marine conflicts and the Church of Rome, the feudal sovereign gave the consent to the work of the two chancelleries. See METZLER, *Diviso mundi* in *DSR*, 271-273. Before Alexander VI, Sixtus IV (1471-1484) approved the 'treaty of Alcantara' stipulated in 1479 between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, without adding or reducing anything. See SORGE, *S. Sede e Corona Portoghese*, 18.

285 *BPP I*, 60-61.

286 *BPP I*, 98-99. All other previous papal documents can be considered as preliminary to the *jus patronatus* properly so-called. In this bull was granted the *jus patronatus* for lands already conquered, and also for lands still to be conquered by Portugal. Fr. Ferroli writes that it is to be remarked that the ground for the granting of this privilege is not *dotatio*—i.e., the founding of churches, and the provision of a sufficient revenue,—but the great merits by which the king had gained through his zeal in the spreading of the Gospel. FERROLI, *Jesuits in Malabar*, 166-167.

Ecclesiastical organization followed the civil exploration[288] of India, China and Japan by the Portuguese. The Padroadists, making use of the rights recieved from the Popes through the various bulls, erected dioceses in the conquered lands. The first diocese in Orient was Goa erected by Pope Clement VII (1523-1534) on January 31, 1533[289]. By the apostolic constitutuion *Etsi sancta et immaculata*[290] of February 4, 1557, Pope Paul IV (1555-1559) elevated Goa to an archdiocese with Kochi[291] and Malaca as suffragan sees[292]. In 1576 the diocese of Macao in China and in 1588 the diocese of Funais in Japan were being erected[293]. On August 4, 1600, the right of patronage over the archdiocese of Angamaly[294] was granted to the Portuguese by Pope Clement VIII

287 *BPP I*, 106-107. With this bull Pope confirmed all the privileges granted to the Portuguese sovereign by Popes Nicolas V and Sixtus IV and he extended them to the lands till then unknown. See SILVA REGO, *Le Patronage Portugais*, 16.

288 For details on the Portuguese colonization of Asia, see MARTINA, *La Chiesa*, 236.

289 The bull of erection *Aequum reputamus* was sent on November 3, 1534, by Pope Paul III (1534-1549); for the text see *BPP I*, 148-152. The new diocese included the territories from the Cape of Good Hope till India inclusive and from India to China and Japan. The right over this diocese was reserved to the king of Portugal and his successors forever. See SILVA REGO, *Le Patronage Portugais*, 17-18. The diocese of Goa was dismembered from the diocese of Funchal (the capital of the island of Madeira) —perhaps the most extensive diocese that has ever existed—comprising all the African, Indian and Chinese territories, which had been erected (as a suffragan see to the archdiocese of Lisbon) on June 12, 1514, by Pope Leo X through the bull *Pro excellenti praeeminentia*. See SILVA REGO, *Le Patronage Portugais*, 17. See this bull in *BPP I*, 100.

290 *BPP I*, 191-192.

291 The diocese of Kochi was erected by the bull *Pro excellenti praeeminentia* (by the same bull Malaca was also erected). With regard to the limits of the diocese of Kochi, Silva Rego writes: "Les limites du diocése de Cochin s'étendaient de la Cote de Malabar á toute la Cote orientale, jusqu'à la Birmaine". SILVA REGO, *Le Patronage Portugais*, 19; he quotes from the Journal *Heraldo*, article *O direito do Padroado e de apresentacao*, Ernest, 10 October Nova Goa, 58-66.

292 SILVA REGO, *Les Missions Portugaises*, 19.

293 For details see *Encilcopedia Cattolica*, 1739.

294 Angamali was the unique see of the Mar Thoma Christians ruled by the Chaldean bishops. With the death of the last Chaldean bishop in the year 1599 Msgr. Menezes took possession of this archdiocese, reducing it to a diocese. See the words of Silva Rego, the famous Portuguese historian: "Angamale, no Malabar... Fora, em primeiro lugar, arcebispado, e em 20 de Dezembro de 1599 viu-se reduzida a diocese". SILVA REGO, *O Padroado Português*, 18. The reason why it was done so was as Silva Rego held: "Angamale était le siège de l'église nestorienne syro-chaldaïque du Malabar. En 1594, à la mort de l'archevêque Mar Abraham, l'archevêque de Goa, D. Fr. Aleixo de Meneses, fut chargé par le Saint-Siège de ramener

(1592-1605) through the bull *In supremo*[295]. The conditions and the privileges mentioned in the bull are:

> 1. The king of Portugal will present the bishop of Angamaly; however, no time limit is given, different from other dioceses.
> 2. The diocese of Angamaly belongs to the patronage of the king of Portugal, as to the title of 'true, simple and real endowment'.
> 3. No derogation will be made to the right of patronage without the express consent of the king of Portugal.
> 4. Any derogation without this consent will have no value, inspite of any apostolic constitution or ordinance.
> 5. However, the right of patronage on this diocese will cease if the king of Portugal fails to pay the amount[296] assigned to him[297].

Succeedingly the dioceses of Mylapur[298] in 1606, Peking in 1690, Nankin in 1690 were erected.

Thus began the Padroado rule in Malabar centering on the diocese of Angamaly (Kodungalloor) headed by the Jesuit prelates. The divisions among the Mar Thoma Christians due to the Latinization policy of the Portuguese and the double jurisdiction over the same community are the consequent pitiable results of the Padroado in Malabar. The line of succession of the Jesuit prelates continued till the appointment of the

Angamale à la foi catholique. L'archidiocèse en question fut trasformé en diocèse par un bref de Clément VIII, en date du 20 Décembre 1599. Angamale ayant été ainsi conquise à la foi catholique, le Saint-Siège, à la demande du roi du Portugal, la confia au Patronage de ce monarque". SILVA REGO, *Le patronage Portugais*, 21-22. Giuseppe Sorge writes: "Clemente VIII aveva unito a Goa la chiesa di Angamale, ridotta dalla dignità di sede arcivescovile a quella vescovile...". SORGE, *S. Sede e Corona Portoghese*, 21.

295 *BPP I*, 260-261.

296 i.e., the temporal support.

297 Basing his judgement on the bull, Silva Rego comments: "Les conditions et privilèges concédés par la bulle m ritent une mention spéciale: 1) le Roi du Portugal présentera l'évêque d'Angamale; toutefois aucundélai n'est indiqué, au contraire des autres diocèses; 2) le diocèse d'Angamale appartient au *Patronage* du Roi fu Portugal, à titre de 'véritable, simple et réelle dotatio'; 3) aucune dérogation ne pourra être faite au droit de *Patronage* sans le consentment exprès du Roi du Portugal; 4) toute dérogation sans ce consentment n'aura aucune valeur, en dépit de n'importe quelles constitutions ou ordonnances apostoliques; 5) toutefois, *le droit de Patronage sur ce diocèse cesera* si le Roi du Portugal manque à la dot qui lui est attribuée". SILVA REGO, *Le Patronage Portugais*, 22.

298 More on Mylapur see in chapter 5.

autochthonous archbishop Joseph Cariattil in the see of Kodungalloor. Following his death just after the appointment as archbishop, no prelate either Portuguese or native ruled Kodungalloor.

2.9.1. Padroadists in the see of Kodungalloor in the first decades of nineteenth century.

In the initial years of the nineteenth century Fr. Sankoorickal was the administrator of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor[299], followed by a series of Portuguese priests who were appointed *governadors* of Kodungalloor. The letter which the parish of Talassery [Tellicherry], the British settlement, subject to the presidency of Madras in the East Indies, wrote on March 31, 1836, to the Prefect of Propaganda narrating grievances against the then ecclesiastical governor described the situation of the Church under the Portuguese ecclesiastical governors. The letter reads thus:

> Before we proceed to give a full statement of the grievances which thus impel us to trespass upon the precious time of the Holy See, we consider it desirable to preface our remarks that this Church has hitherto been subject to the archbishop of Cranganore, one of the three bishoprics existing in Malabar, which see it has been for upwards of 60 years. It has had no regular bishop excepting one, the late Archbishop Fre Paolo who about 13 years ago presided in it only for 11 months and a few days. For the whole period of these 60 years the above see has been filled by certain regular priests appointed by the government of Portugal under the title of governors and who receive their jurisdiction from the metropolitan of Goa[300].

Regarding the situation of Kodungalloor Stephen Neil writes:

> The dioceses were often left for long periods without bishops. A number are noted as 'bishop elect', bishops who never managed to secure episcopal consecration but did succeed to the management of their dioceses; but more are listed as governors-administrators who could not carry out any episcopal act unless by special permission[301].

299 Nazareth writes: "Dr. Cassanar Jose Cheamgurechil (Sankoorickal) govern. episcopal no. em 7 maio 1799; posse a 3 jul. 1800, presidiu ate 31 dez. 1801". NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 57. Before the appointment of Fr. Sankoorickal, José Caetano da Silva Coutinho, a portuguese priest was appointed archbishop-elect of Kodungalloor in 1800. See the details about him in TT, *IR Caixa 3*, no. 300, f. 1r. But this appointment got no realization and on November 4, 1805 he was nominated bishop of Rio de Janeiro. See ASV, *NP 140* (Caleppi to Consalvi, Lisbon January 23, 1806).

300 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 171r. A general picture of the churches under Padroado in India in the early years of the nineteenth century is described in a letter of April 3, 1802, by the archbishop of Goa. See AHU, *RMI Maço 178*, (unnumbered fasc.).

301 NEIL, *History of Christianity*, 236.

All these appointments were nominal and provisional, with the result that the Padroado rule in Malabar at this period was just a device to hold their name and fame. And very little is known to have been written[302] on the Padroadists of this period.

2.9.1.1. Fr. Domingos da Conceiçao

On February 20, 1810, a Portuguese Franciscan, Fr. Domingos da Conceiçao was appointed archbishop-elect of Kodungalloor and he remained as the administrator of Kodungalloor till April 23, 1820[303]. During his time, some parishes under the Propaganda rule came under the jurisdiction of Kodungalloor due to some problem with Fr. Prosper, the apostolic missionary and the vicar general of Varapuzha[304].

2.9.1.2. Fr. Paul of St. Thomas Aquinas

Following Domingos, Fr. Paul of St. Thomas Aquinas[305] was the administrator of Kodungalloor. On January 16, 1819, he was appointed the archbishop of Kodungalloor[306] and was consecrated on March 4, 1821, at Goa[307]. In the years 1821 and 1822 he remained at Goa and on January 17, 1823, he came to Malabar and took charge of the archdiocese of Kodungallloor[308]. He was also the administrator of the

302 In the Roman Archives almost nothing is found written on these personalities.

303 Details about him see in AHU, *RMI Maço 186*, (unnumbered fasc.). Following Fr. Sankoorickal, a Portuguese Dominican, José do Patrocinio Telles was nominated on March 8, 1802, as the administrator of Kodungalloor. But he did not reach Kodungalloor and in 1806 he was appointed for Kochi. Following him, Fr. Théodoro Botelho Homem, a secular priest was appointed archbishop-elect of Kodungalloor on January 8, 1806, and got confirmation from Pope Pius VII on August 26, 1806. But he was not consecrated and did not come to Malabar. See NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 57; DHGE, *Cranganore*, 1014.

304 A letter of October 12, 1822, by Fr. Nicolas of Jesus Mary, a missionary in Varapuzha, to the Propositor General of the Carmelites, in Monserrato in Rome speaks about this event. See AGOCD, *Plut 267d*.

305 For more details about him see TT, *IR, Caixa 1*, no. 87 (unnumbered fasc.).

306 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 543r (letter of Msgr. Alcantara to the Prefect of Propaganda, dated January 4, 1819).

307 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 574r (letter of Fr. Francis Xavier to the Prefect of Propaganda). See also NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 57.

308 See AHU, *RMI Maço 218* (unnumbered fasc.).

diocese of Kochi[309]. Acoording to Fr. Francis Xavier, bishop Paul was also a member of the revolution took place at Goa in September 1821. See his words:

> As known in the public gazette, during the infamous revolution of September/December 1821, the wretched archbishop Paul of St. Thomas Aquinas took part, who finally became a member of the tyrannical pentarchy, known under the name 'junta' which governs Goa[310].

Bishop Paul tried to unite to his diocese the Latin parishes which were dependent on Varapuzha[311]. Msgr. Alcantara, the apostolic vicar of Bombay, informing Propaganda of the same, wrote about the then situation of Malabar:

> Almost 15 days have passed since I returned here [Bombay] from Malabar, where I have gone to give ordination to the clerics [deacons]. The dioceses of Kochi and Kodungalloor are also without bishops. I stayed there one year and eight months. The reason why I stayed there such a long time was the apostasy of Fr. Prosper (but now he is converted and is in Bombay). The Christians have an aversion for the house of Varapuzha and for the Carmelites. However, the Christians remain in good disposition with Varapuzha. But such a situation cannot last long without a bishop and sufficient number of missionaries[312].

The then queen of Thiruvithamkoor, Rani Lakshmi Bhai, decreed that all those churches in the dioceses of Kochi and Kodungalloor under the jurisdiction of Padroado should remain under bishop Paul. After some years, however, she changed the decree that the two churches of Alappuzha (the new church and the 'shore' church), and the

309 See NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 50.

310 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 574r, "Forze dalle publiche gazette...saputo l'infame rivoluzione ...avvenute sucesivamente in Goa nel Settembre e Decembre del anno scorso, nelle quali abbia grande parte attiva il disgraziato arcivescovo di Cranganore Monsignor Paolo di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, che in fine ottenne di essere membro della tirannica Pentarchia, che sotto il nome Giunta governa Goa...". Fr. Francis Xavier continued that this humiliated the archbishop of Goa, Monsignor Manoel di S. Galdinho, who later took refuge in a Theresian house of a missionary of Propaganda. For the details of the event see APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 574r-v.

311 Many times other preceding bishops of Kochi as well tried to get the Latin parishes of Varapuzha. It was easy since there was no apostolic vicar in Varapuzha and Fr. Prosper was not on good terms with the faithful of Varapuzha. See the words of Msgr. Alcantara: "Il nuovo eletto vescovo di Cocino ha fatto per reunire al suo vescovato le chiese latine aderenti a Verapoli". APF, *SC IO 2*, f.543r.

312 APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 543r-v, "...circa 15 giorni che io sono arrivato qui dal Malabar, ove vi andai per il solo motivo della ordinazione dei chierici di quel vicariato, come per delle diocesi di Coccino e di Cranganore privo dei vescovi ordinari. Sono rimasto la 1 anno e 8 mesi. La causa di io tanto tempo fermarmi in Veraploy non è stata se non l'orribile caduta del P. Prospero (ora per misericordia di Dio convertito, e esistente in Goa)... i cristiani hanno aversione verso la casa di Verapoli e ai missionari carmelitani. Cristiani siano rimasti, nonostante l'accaduto, in buona disposizione verso Verapoli".

churches of Thanhki, Manakodam, Kattur, Thumboli should go under Varapuzha. Bishop Paul died on December 19, 1823, in Olikkara at Kollamn and was buried at Changanasserry[313].

2.9.1.3. Fr. João do Porto Peixoto

Peixoto, a Portugese priest was the next *governador* of Kodungalloor[314]. His appointment was on Novemebr 24, 1825, and he took charge of the office on January 29, 1826[315]. In the *Ponenza* on the apostolic vicariate of Malabar there is a mention of the see of Kodungalloor as the following:

> The see of Kodungalloor, whose archbishop although elected in the year 1825, remains still in Lisbon without any intention of transferring to his Church [see]. The spiritual governance of the diocese—the appointment to this belongs to the king of Portugal—is entrusted to the governor or vicar deputed from the archdiocese of Goa[316].

The letter of the inhabitants of the parish of Thalasserry relates the inefficient reign of Peixoto as governor of Kodungalloor in the following way:

313 See BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 250-251. He writes that bishop Paul was buried at Changanasserry since the Suriani Catholics under the leadership of Mathu Tharakan thought that it should be right that a bishop who worked for the Syrians be buried in a Syrian church. See also NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 57.

314 See the words of a letter dated October 9, 1826, by Joaquim Jose da Silva, commissary of the marines of Goa: "Sendo necessario para o servico de Deos, e Sua magestade, que o Padre mestre Frei João do Porto Peixoto, fique na India empregado no servico do Real Padroado...". AHU, *RMI Maço 190*, (unnumbered fasc.).

After the death of archbishop Paul, another Dominican, Fr. José Joaquim da Immaculada Conceiçao was appointed archbishop-elect of Kodungalloor in 1825. See TT, *IR Caixa 1*, no. 87, f. 145r; DHGE, *Cranganore*, 1014. But he did not come to Malabar. See NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 57.

315 NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 58.

316 In the documents on the *Ponenza* regarding the apostolic vicariate of Malabar, Cardinal Fransoni, after narrating the situation of Kochi, writes about Kodungalloor: "Lo stesso puo dirsi della sede di Cranganore, il di cui arcivescovo sebbene eletto fin dall' anno 1825 resta tuttora in Lisbona senza alcuna intenzione di trasferirsi alla sua chiesa. Il governo spirituale poi de vescovato... appartiene al Re di Portogallo la nomina, resta affidata ad un governatore, o vicario deputato dall'arcivescovato di Goa". APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 625r. It is all probable that the mentioned archbishop-elect is not Peixoto, but José Joaquim since Peixoto was appointed as administrator, but José Joaquim as archbishop-elect.

> It is more than 10 years since the above see has been administered by the present governor named João do Porto Peixoto, during whose government it is that we have had much reason to be aggrieved. Had not our grievances beeen severe, we would have refrained from seeking redress from the Supreme Tribunal of the Church[317].

His residence was first at Ollur and then at Kanjoor. As he understood that the Padroado rule might soon come to an end, he told all the Syrian churches to be ready to be under the jurisdiction of Varapuzha after his death[318]. He died on July 29, 1838[319], and was buried at Kanjoor[320].

2.10. The dispute between the jurisdictionists

Following the institution of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide[321] (1622), Propaganda sent missionaries to Malabar from the year 1657, effecting the coexistence

317 APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 171r-v. See the complaints against Peixoto in chapter 3, pp. 215-216.

318 See chapter 5, p. 314.

319 DHGE, *Cranganore*, 1014.

320 NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 58.

321 Many and varied were the views and reflections with regard to the institution of Propaganda Fide both on the part of Rome and on the part of Padroado. Although Rome wanted missionary work independent of Portugal, the latter demanded the rights and privileges accorded to them by the apostolic bulls of patronage, which 'could not be derogated even by the Holy See itself without the royal consent' as well as customs and usages which had been in long possession. As soon as the Popes began their free administrative acts, such as appointing apostolic vicars, delegates or commissaries to function in Padroado areas, the Portuguese saw in such independent actions an encroachment on their royal rights, privileges or customs, to be resisted as an injury and an injustice. See HULL, *Bombay Mission History*, 40. In course of time, in view of the persistent missionary monopoly of the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide reacted to the theory of 'royal vicariate' (*regio vicariato*), which in substance was advocating a patronage without limits—not in exclusively ecclesiastical matters only, but also in purely spiritual matters—from which originated the 'royal orders' (*cedole regie*) on the reign of the parishes in India emanating from Philip IV (1621-1665) in 1634 and in 1639. Thus the *cedole regie* took the place of pontifical documents. See SORGE, *S. Sede e Corona Portoghese*, 21-22. From this 'vicariate theory' derived the 'royal *placet*' or *regium placitum* (called also *placet*, *beneplacet* or *exequatur*) which in its fully developed form was a claim of the state (as by right) to exercise censorship over the papal bulls, briefs, decrees or instructions communicated to the bishops or clergy. See HULL, *Bombay Mission History*, 40-41. About the institution of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide see METZLER, *Foundation of the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide"*, 79-111 and about the circumstances of the foundation of this Congregation see TING PONG LEE, *La actitud de la Sagrada Congregación*, 353-438.

of two jurisdictions; from the year 1709[322] onwards Propaganda and Padroado side by side actually exercised their jurisdictions in Malabar, the former under the apostolic vicariate of Malabar and the latter under the [arch]diocese of Kodungalloor. The jurisdictional controversies[323] were not frequent between them since the stipulations in the bulls were not only obscure but also impractical because of the special situation of Malabar where there were Syrians and Latins under both jurisdictions and these Christians were spread out in the two reigns of Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi. On January 3, 1724, Propaganda gave instruction on the competency of the apostolic vicar and the bishop of Kodungalloor regarding the free exercise of their jurisdictions[324].

In 1754 the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha informed the Congregation that to prevent the persecution of the Dutch against him and the Carmelite missionaries, he began to govern the churches in the jurisdiction of Kochi and Kodungalloor in the manner of his predecessors considering these churches to be devoid of ordinaries since

322 See page 76.

323 The jurisdiction which the apostolic vicars and the missionaries got from Propaganda to work in the places assigned to them within the somewhat indeterminate circumscriptions of the existing Padroado dioceses, caused many problems. Besides the Padroado dioceses, there appeared the apostolic vicars, commissaries or delegates: Japan 1627, Bijapur 1637, Malabar 1657, Nankin 1659, Siam 1669, Canara 1671, Cochin-Cina 1671, China 1677, Borneo 1692 etc. See HULL, *Bombay Mission History*, 37. These emissaries of the Pope were sent to work in areas, which were at least vaguely comprised within the dioceses patronised by the king. The legates, visitors and the commissaries came into those dioceses from a higher plane, as representatives of the Holy See and, therefore, in a position of superiority to the local bishops. The apostolic vicars and their missionaries entered the same dioceses, not invited by the bishops or authorised or appointed by them, but as exempted persons endowed with authority and jurisdiction direct from the Holy See. For details see HULL, *Bombay Mission History*, 38-39. The problem of the coexistence of the two jurisdictions is expressed by Martina as follows: "La nascita di Propaganda riproponeva in termini acuti il problema della coesistenza tra initiative locali e direttive centralizzatrici, fra il Patronato e l'indipendenza dell'attività della S. Sede dagli Stati'. MARTINA, *La Chiesa*, 243. For details of the Padroado-Propaganda conflicts in the seventeenth century see THEKEDATHU, *History of Christianity*, 414-420.

324 "... quod Vicarius Apostolicus, facultatibus sibi ad hoc specialiter per S. Sedem concessis, vigore Brevis suae deputationis expeditae sub die 31 Januari 1714, utatur, et ea omnia, quae sunt officii pastoralis, exerceat, in iis tantum locis,et Ecclesiis Dioecesis Cranganorensis, in quibus praefatum impedimentum (del libero esercizio di sua giurisdizione) vere adsit, atque eo tantum tempore, quo Archiepiscopum a libero ordinariae suae jurisdictionis exercitio, quavis ex causa impediri contingerit". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 86. See the Instruction of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide of January 31, 1724, in APF, *Acta 98*, ff. 95r-96r; APF, *CP 109*, ff. 80v-81r; APF, *Istruzioni 3*, ff. 203v-205r. This rescript was sent also to the nuncio in Lisbon. See the letter of Propaganda to the archbishop of Kodungalloor in APF, *Lettere 117*, ff. 34v-35v; to the apostolic vicar APF, *Lettere 117*, ff. 35v-36v; to the nuncio in Lisbon APF, *Lettere 117*, ff. 38r-39r.

the Portuguese could not reside peacefully in those places. As answer, the Congregation ascertained once more the rescript of January 31, 1724[325]. But since in the brief of December 23, 1781, given to the apostolic vicar, John Mary of St. Thomas, there was no mention of the diocese of Kochi or Kodungalloor, but only the general clause *cum facultatibus solitis et consuetis*, there rose again a doubt regarding the extension of the faculty[326]. The same problem rose again in 1788 when the Thiruvithamkoor king wanted to give the jurisdiction of the churches entrusted to the Portuguese Franciscans when they were expelled from Thiruvithamkoor because of some dispute between the bishop of Kochi, the Fransciscans and the people[327]. Accordingly, the answer[328] was sent on April 12, 1788, to Aloysius Mary.

This jurisdictional problem again came under discussion when in 1790 Fr. Paulinus, Carmelite missionary in Malabar, exposed some doubts to Propaganda on the state of that mission[329]. The Congregation replied to the doubts analogically inculcating in the apostolic vicar the firm and constant idea of the Congregation, i.e., 'not to

325 APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 488v-489r.

326 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 489r. This question was discussed in the General Assembly of June 17, 1782, and the cardinals came to the conclusion: "Etsi in Brevi in eius personam (P. Joan Mariae a S. Thoma) expediti die 23. Decembris proxime elapsi, desint restrictiones in praecedentibus contentae, et apposita tantum fuerit clausula cum facultatibus solitis et consuetis, attamen S.C. mens ea est ut facultates praedictae intelligendae semper sint ad formam Brevis die 20. Februarii anni 1700 expediti per S. M. Innocentium XII. Episcopo Metellopolen coeterum injugendum eidem, ut omni zelo, ac studio cum suis sociis Missionariis opportunam Christianis dictarum Diocesum praestet assistentiam, donec Cranganoren Archiep. et Episcopus Coccinen a libero eorum jurisdictionis exercitio impediri contingerit". And this resolution was sent to the apostolic vicar.

327 APF, *Acta 168*, f. 293v.

328 "Se gerat iuxta facultates in Brevi Apostolico suae deputationis expressas videlicet, ut ea omnia, quae sunt Pastoralis officii exerceat in iis tantum locis, et Ecclesiis in quibus Ordinarii jurisdictionem suam libere exercere ab aliqua potestate laicali impediuntur, et quamdiu eos in posterum impediri contingerit, et non ultra". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 489r; APF, *Acta 168*, f. 293v.

329 The points 3,4,6,8 are directly on this matter of jurisdiction. For the text see APF, *Acta 193*, f. 489v. The first and the second points of the doubts concern the ecclesiastical state of Malabar. On the basis of the request of Fr. Paulinus, it is taken into discussion in the General Assembly of Propaganda whether it is right to appoint another Syrian bishop for the Suriani Catholics independent of the Latin bishops (in the present circumstance, Fr. Thomas Paremmakal as successor to Mar Kariattil). The resolutions given to such doubts were relayed in the 'Notes' made by the archivist as: "intanto il vicario apostolico del Malabar e li suoi Frati Carmelitani Scalzi erano si mostrati altamente sorpresi dell'elezione fatta in arcivescovo di Cranganore in persona del defunto Mons. Cariattil di rito soriano in quanto ignoravasi

invade the rights and jurisdiction of the ordinary bishops, but only to substitute in the circumstances when they are impeded in the exercise of their power, assigning the mode of behaving in particular cases'[330]. Thereby, justifying the act of the apostolic vicar, the Congregation decreed that:

> The apostolic vicar of Malabar could and should receive the churches belonging to other dioceses. The same Congregation approved the act of the apostolic vicar of that time who received under his jurisdiction those Catholic communities over which the archbishop of Kodungalloor and the bishop of Kochi could not freely exercise their ordinary jurisdiction[331].

Thereby, to the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha has been accorded the jurisdiction over those places of the dioceses of Kodungalloor and Kochi to supply what the respective ordinaries would have exercised if they were not impeded, and only in the case of such impediment. However, it does not seem to have astonished the apostolic vicar to see in the letters to the archbishop of Kodungalloor and the bishop of Kochi, that limitations were not placed upon their jurisdiction in those places, since it was the mind of the Congregation not to invade the rights of the ordinaries, but to keep them steady as it is expressed in the cited documents[332].

essersi in tal congiuntura accordata dal Papa al Cariatti suddetto l'indulto di passare al rito latino, senza del quale non si sarebbe certamente promesso a quella chiesa arcivescovile, né l'alunno D. Tomaso Paremmakkal, né alcun altro di rito dal latino diverso nel caso...che da un vescovo non latino dipendano tante chiese latine, quante son quelle, che appertengono all'ordianria giurisdizione dell'arcivescovo di Cranganore". APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 291r-292v.

330 The Congregation in a letter dated October 4, 1790, wrote to the apostolic vicar, Aloysius Mary, the answer to the doubts expressed by Fr. Paulinus. APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 489v-490r, "... inculcando al vicario apostolico essere massima ferma e costante della Congregazione medesima 'di non invadere i diritti e la giurisdizione dei vescovi Ordinarii, ma solamente di supplirvi quando dalle circostanze sono impediti di esercitarli, assegnando poi il modo di condursi nei casi particolari espresi nei suddetti dubbi...".

And here in this answer is again repeated the instruction given by Clement XI in the brief dated March 13, 1709 (on the occasion of the origin of the discord between the apostolic vicar and the archbishop of Kodungalloor and the bishop of Kochi) and that of May 18, 1724, of 1728, and of 1788. In all these, the mind of the Congregation was 'not to invade the rights and the jurisdiction of the ordinaries (bishops), but to substitute only in those circumstances where they were being impeded to exercise the power'. See APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 490r-v.

331 APF, *Acta 168*, ff. 294r-v, "Il vicario apostolico del Malabar poteva e doveva ricevere le parrochie appartenenti alle diocesi altrui. La medesima Sacra Congregazione approvò allora in tutto e per tutto la condotta tenuta su tal proposito del vicario apostolico di quel tempo nel ricevere sotto la propria jurisdizione quelle communita cattoliche, su le quali non potevano l'arcivescovo di Cranganore ed il vescovo di Coccino esercitare liberamente la loro giurisdizione ordinaria, avvertendo bensi, che per quanto ample ed estese fossero le facoltà del vicario apostolico di Verapoli".

332 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 490r, "... che al vicario apostolico del Malabar è stata accordata giurisdizione su quei luoghi delle diocesi di Cranganore e Coccino, per supplire quella che avrebbero dovuto esercitarvi li

2.10.1. The claim of Propaganda over the vacant Padroado sees

The jurisdictional controversies became ardent in the nineteenth century when Padroado could not provide bishops to the sees under their jurisdiction. The apostolic vicars who were against the inadequate and anachronistic existence of the Padroado in India demanded to get extended their jurisdiction over all the faithful whether in their respective apostolic vicariates or in the Padroado dioceses[333]. Msgr. Alcantara informed the Congregation of Propaganda:

> The bishop appointed for Kochi, Fr. Thomas, tried to reunite to his diocese the Latin churches which were under the apostolic vicariate of Varapuzha. The English Resident in Malabar told me that Fr. Thomas was trying his best to have his aim fulfilled and wanted to get all the Latin churches in Malabar[334].

After describing how the Latin churches of Kochi came under the apostolic vicariate of Varapuzha, he wrote that Colonel Maucaulay once decreed that no church under the jurisdiction of Varapuzha should pass to the bishop of Kochi without the permission of the governor. Colonel Munro stood for the restitution to Varapuzha of the churches of which the bishop of Kochi had taken possession[335]. And he was of the opinion that a great majority of the Christians of Malabar wanted to obey the apostolic vicar rather than the local ordinaries because

> first, of the large number of churches under Varapuzha, which now want to remain under the jurisdiction of the apostolic vicar and do not want to go to the ordinary bishops; secondly, the futile efforts made by the bishop of Kochi and even now the present bishop to recuperate their churches, especially those of Vaipin, Mattancheri and Angamale[336].

respetivi Ordinarii, se non ne fossero impediti, e nel solo caso della esistenza di tale impedimento, e pero non sembra che abbia a meravigliarsi il vicario apostolico se vede nelli Brevi dell' Archvescovo di Cranganore e del vescovo di Coccino non apposta limitazione alla loro giurisdizione in quei luoghi, essendo la mente di questa S.C. di non invadere li diritti degli Ordinaii, ma di volerli saldi, come nelli citati documenti trovarsi espresa".

333 On June 6, 1820, Msgr Alcantara wrote a letter to the Prefect of Propaganda narrating the situation of the Padroado dioceses and the apostolic vicariates in India with special reference to Malabar. See APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 175r-176v.

334 APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 175r-v, "Il nominato vescovo di Coccino Pre. Tommaso trova a riunire al suo vescovato le chiese latine, che sono governate dal vicario apostolico. Il Resident Inglese del Regno di Travancore mi ha fatto sapere il molto che travaglia il suddetto prelato a tale effetto... per governare tutte le chiese latine del Malabar... ed il medesimo Residente avendo desiderato di aver da me un informazione dell' origine, e potere del vicario apostolico del Malabar".

335 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 176r (letter of Msgr. Alcantara to Msgr. Prendergast dated June 6, 1820).

336 APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 176r-v.

Fr. Valentine in a letter dated September 24, 1818, to the General of the Carmelites commenting on the appointment of the new archbishop in the see of Kodungalloor, reflected on 'what would be the end of the Malabar missions' because of the contrasts beteween the jurisdictionists in Malabar[337]. The jurisdictional controversies sometimes reached the point of calling the other section enemy. Msgr. Prendergast wrote on November 1, 1822, to the Congregation: "There is no meaning in what the Portuguese are telling about the missionaries of the Congregation, because they are declared enemies"[338]. In a report, which Msgr. Francis Xavier sent to Propaganda about the status of the Malabar missions in 1835, he wrote:

> In the whole India the Padroado sees have been suppressed[339]. And now no Portuguese bishop is in India, the dioceses were ruled by the administrators. From Portugal the ultramarine territories were suppressed; and in Goa the civil war is taking place, and so there is no right reason to defend the *jus patronatus* on the part of the Portuguese[340].

At any rate, the Padroado sees in the first decades of the nineteenth century, especially in Malabar, witnessed impassivity in missionary activities and gave testimony to an anachronistic existence, appearing to be controversial with regard to the claim of jurisdiction as against the rightful demands of Propaganda. The jurisdictional controversies between Padroado and Propaganda in the mission land and the dispute between the Padroadists and the Propagandists in Malabar came to its ephemeral finale in 1838 with the brief *Multa praeclare*[341].

337 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 507r (letter of Fr. Valentine to the General of the Carmelites, dated September 24, 1818, from Genoa).

338 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 58v, "Non si può dare credito a quello che dicono i Portoghesi de missionari della Sacra Congregazione perché sono nemici dichiarati".

339 He did not mean the official suppression in 1838; but in effect as 'suppressed' because of the non-functioning in the dioceses.

340 APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 390v (letter of Msgr. Francis Xavier to Fr. Honorius dated June 25, 1835). The same idea is expressed also in AGOCD, *Plut 267d*. Note the folowing words: "... ut, ad tollendas malas artes et vexationes Lusitanorum pro omni futuro tempore, supprimantur in tota India sedes episcopales Lusitanae. Ad hoc enim perficiendum, dicit, esse nunc tempus opportunum. Quia cum actu in tota India nullus esset Episcopus Lusitanus—omnes sedes Episcopales Lusitanae tunc vocabant et gubernabantur ab administratoribus—ac postquam S. Sedes, suppressis in Portugallia eiusque territoriis ultramarinis omnibus conventibus Religiosorum Ordinum, relationes cum Curia Ulissiponensi rupit, et cum in ipsa civitate Goae bellum civile exarsisset, nulla sane difficultatem timendam esse a parte Gubernii Lusitani defendendi ulterius Ius Patronatus usque eo acerrime praetensum".

341 Regarding the suppression of the Padroado dioceses in India in 1838 and the consequent events see chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

THE LIFE OF THE CHURCH

The presence of the two jurisdictions of Padroado and Propaganda, and especially the conflicts between these two deeply affected the life of the Suriani Catholics in the first four decades of the nineteenth century[1]. The longings of the Mar Thoma Christian community to preserve the ritual heritage by retaining her ancient practices, the 'not-up-to-the-expectation personalities' as the heads of the Church[2], the other section of the Syrian community[3] and the presence of the Anglican missionaries were deciding factors in the life of the Church.

3.1. The extension of the Church of the Suriani Catholics

The change of obedience of the parishes from Propaganda to Padroado or vice versa, although sometimes necessary due to the political as well as the ecclesial situation, resulted in the fluctuation of the number of parishes belonging to either jurisdic-

1 A side by side existence of Padroado and Propaganda jurisdictions was not as easy as expected owing to the competition and disputes for power and leadership. So the faithful were in confusion whether to accept the Italian Carmelites or the Portuguese clergy appointed by two ecclesiastical authorities for the same community. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 502v.

2 For the personalities who ruled the Church in the period of our study see chapter two.

3 After the revolt of the Mar Thoma Christians in 1653 although the whole community stood against the then existing leadership of Francis Garcia, the archbishop of Kodungalloor (Cranganore), the majority later obeyed the new leadership sent from Rome; but the rest of the community became Jacobites in 1663. See the words of Fr. Geminian: "Quei di rito siro-caldeo discendente da cristiani antichi, e tuttavia chiamati di S. Thome, si dividono in cattolici ed in scismatici". BNVER, *Santa Maria della Scala 1*, f. 76v (relazion du Malabar du P. Geminien).

tions[4]. The existence of different political dominions[5] too sometimes necessitated the change of obedience of the faithful from the one to the other jurisdiction.

3.1.1. In the initial years of the nineteenth century

In a report[6] of the Malabar Church which the apostolic vicar of Malabar, Msgr. Aloysius Mary[7] (1784-1802), presented before the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, mentioned the number of the churches, both Syrian and Latin, the number of the priests and of the faithful[8]. According to him there were then in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar 46 parishes and 14 chapels belonging to the Syrians, and 17 parishes and 11 chapels belonging to the Latins. In the (arch)diocese of Kodungalloor there were 41 Syrian Catholic parishes[9] and 44 Syrian Jacobite parishes; six of them were common to the Catholics (Syrians and Latins); three were dependent upon the apostolic vicar and three upon the archbishop of Kodungalloor[10]. At that time there were 117 Syrian and 47 Latin priests and 70,500 Syrian and 30,100 Latin Christians[11].

4 That is the reason why the apostolic vicars presented different and varying lists of the churches of the apostolic vicariate of Malabar.

5 The Malabar Church was under different political dominions. Msgr. Aloysius Mary in 1788 informed the Prefect of the Propaganda Congregation: "la maggior parte delle parrochie soriane ovvero caldee è situata nel regno di Travancore, che alcune altre sono nei stati del re di Coccino, tre nei domini di Napolino, e che il rimanente, ed in specie le chiese Latine contansi nei domini della Compagnia Olandese delle Indie Orientali". APF, *SOCG 907*, ff. 457r-v.

6 It was just after his consecration in 1786 that Msgr. Aloysius Mary, *Episcopus Usulensis* and apostolic vicar of Malabar, presented this *relazione* (about the Church in Malabar) before the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. This report was taken into consideration in the General Assembly of the Congregation of February 18, 1788, by Cardinal Carrara. See APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 457r.

7 Details about him are found in chapter 2, pp. 77-80.

8 There were then in Malabar Syrian and Latin Catholics belonging either to the archdiocese of Kodungalloor (Cranganore) or to the apostolic vicariate of Malabar.

9 Thus the total number of the Suriani Catholic parishes at the end of the eighteenth century was 84.

10 At that time there was no archbishop in the see of Kodungalloor; but the Syrians were united together under the leadership of Thomas Paremmakkal, the *governador*.

11 In the *relazione* he wrote that the Catholics in Malabar were depending on him, except those belonging to the archdiocese of Kodungalloor or to the diocese of Kochi. See APF, *SOCG 907*, f. 458r.

In 1810 Fr. Prosper, the missionary at Varapuzha, when writing to the General of the Carmelites, mentioned the number of the Syrian parishes under the apostolic vicar as 43[12]. He added that the number of the Latin parishes was 23 and there were 50,000 Syrian Christians and 43,000 Latin Christians[13].

3.1.2. In the first decades of the nineteenth century

According to a list presented by the missionaries before the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, there were 90,000 Catholics in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar after the death of Msgr. Raimond of St. Joseph[14]. Under the same vicariate there were 120 Syrian and 34 Latin priests[15] and the number of the parishes in the whole of Malabar was 160[16]. The *relazione* showed that:

> The Christians built many churches, the most important and ancient was Angamaly, which was the seat of their bishop; and the others were Pallipuram, Kodungalloor, Kalloorkattu, Kollam, Changanasserry, Chengannor, Paravur.... In the progress of time the number of the churches was increased to 84 before the arrival of the Portuguese in India; at present the number exceeds 160[17].

12 He gave a different number with regard to the parishes in comparison with the report of Msgr. Aloysius Mary. Fr. Prosper may not be exact as to the number since his intention was not to give the strength of the Syrians but to say that the faithful were against the apostolic vicar who was being accused by the faithful and the faithful were protesting against him. See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 78r (letter of Fr. Prosper, ocd, to the General of the Carmelites, dated September 30, 1814, from Bombay).

13 "Tutte le chiese che sono presentamente sotto di Verapoly o vicario apostolico, che sono 43 soriane dove si contano di 50,000 e più anime; e 23 latine dove sono circa 43,000 anime". APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 78r.

14 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 247v. "... che l'Emo. Sig. Card. Litta nel giorno 27 Agosto 1818 riferì al Santo Padre, che l'estesa missione del Malabar o di Verapoli nelle Indie Orientali affidata alla cura dei Carmelitani Scalzi , che conta circa 90000 cattolici, dopo la morte del vicario apostolico Msgr. Raimondo di S.Giuseppe". See the same also in APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 493r.

15 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 247v. The same report also gave the names of the other missions depending on the mission of Malabar, such as Canara, Mysore, Madura, Karnataka, Coromandal and Madagascar. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 247.

16 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 218r (copia di una lettera trasmesa al ministro di culto, Portalis, sull inchiesta che si fece una relazione ecclesiastico-politica degli affari dell' Indie).

17 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 218r, "Li Cristiani fabbricarano per loro commodo molte chiese, e sono le principali e più antiche Angamale, la quale fu poi la sede del loro vescovo, Pallippuramo, Musier, Calurcattu, Coilon, Chiangancheri, Chinganor, Paravur ... ed altre, che in progresso di tempo si moltiplicarono sino a 84 prima della venuta di Portoghesi nelle Indie, al presente superano il numero di 160 parrochie".

Regarding the different communities the same *relazione* reported:

> There are three sorts of Christians, i.e., Latins, who form the majority, Suriani Catholics and Syrian schismatics. One part of the Latins obeys their bishop [of Kochi] and another part the apostolic vicar of Malabar; also one part of the Syrians obeys the archbishop of Cranganor and the other part the apostolic vicar, all together come to 50,000 excluding the Europeans and the Syrian schismatics who have their own bishop[18].

In another letter which Msgr. Milesius Prendergast, the apostolic vicar of Malabar (1821-1827)[19], sent to Mr. William Pereire, Secretary of the Orthodox Society of Madras, informed that under his jurisdiction there were 60 churches[20] and 13,000 Christians[21]; however, in his letter to the Prefect of Propaganda dated April 12, 1821, he wrote that the number of the Syrian churches was 39 and Latin 22 and altogether 100,000 Christians[22].

In one of the letters which Prendergast sent to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, dated July 5, 1822, he wrote that there were 20 Latin and 42 Syrian churches in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar. He added that they had enough priests and the Christians numbered 100,000[23]. In another letter of June 8, 1825, he wrote that there were 43 Syrian and 22 Latin churches[24].

18 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 220r, "Ci sono tre qualità di Cristiani, cio è, Latini, li quali formano il maggior numero, Soriani Cattolici, e Soriani scismatici; parte dei Latini obbediscono a loro vescovo e parte al vicario apostolico, così dei Soriani Cattolici, parte obbediscono al vescovo di Cranganore e parte al vicario apostolico. Tutti li Cattolici uniti assieme saranno nel Malabar ad un 50000, escludendo da questo numero gli europei e li Soriani scismatici, li quali hanno il loro vescovo".

19 For details about him see chapter 2, pp. 95-97.

20 Syrian and Latin together.

21 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 383v (letter written by Msgr. Milesius Prendergast, bishop of Centuria and apostolic vicar of Malabar, dated June 7, 1821, from Varapuza).

22 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 362r. The number of the Christians varies much in the two letters which he wrote on April 12, 1821, and June 7, 1821. The number 100,000 seems to be more probable, since he again wrote the number 100,000, in 1822.

23 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556r.

24 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 159r

3.1.3. During the leadership of Msgr. Maurilius Stabellini and Msgr. Francis Xavier

Msgr. Stabellini, who was made the interim apostolic vicar following the suspension of Msgr. Prendergast[25], after having studied the situation of the Malabar Church and its characteristic features, sent to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide a report on the actual state of the same apostolic vicariate[26]. This report (*relazione della missione del Malabar data nell' anno 1829 conforme il solito formulario delle 69 interrogazioni da Monsig. Stabellini vescovo di Dolica, vicario apostolico interino del Malabar*)[27] as answer to the first few of 69 questions raised by Stabellini[28] gave the size of the apostolic vicariate of Malabar. The extension of the Malabar Church is briefly described by Msgr. Stabellini in the following words:

> The apostolic vicariate is reduced to an area of about 90 leagues[29] one part in between the mountains and the other in the plain, where one can travel in boats since rivers are very frequent in that

25 For the details on the suspension of Prendergast and the appointment of Stabellini see chapter 2, pp. 110-112.

26 The Acta of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide of the year 1830 reports: "Nell' anno 1827, però per gravi ragioni fu dalla s.mem. di PP. Leone XII richiamato dal Malabar, e sospeso dalla giurisdizione sopra quel vicariato apostolico. Fissò Monsig. Prendergast la sua dimora in Bombay presso Monsig. Pietro d' Alcantara.... Monsig. Maurelio Stabellini, vescovo di Dolica e coadjutore del vicario apostolico del Mogol erasi recato in Verapoli, residenza dei vicari apostolici del Malabar per verificare le rappresentanze, che facevansi contro Monsig. Prendergast.... Deputato il vicario apostolico interino del Malabar il medesimo Monsig. Stabellini ha inviato alla Sacra Congregazione la relazione dello stato attuale del sudetto vicariato apostolico". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478r.

27 This report was taken into discussion in the General Assembly of the Propaganda Fide held on September 30, 1830. This *relazione* is seen in APF, *SOCG 945*, ff. 856r-862v and in APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 497r-503v (*sommario*, no. 2).

28 The report of Msgr. Stabellini consists of the answers to the 69 questions. These questions (*Questionario che suole diriggersi a Vicario Apostolici etc. per avere precise notizie della missione, cui presiedono*) are given in *sommario*, no. 1 in APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 495r-496v and also in APF, *SOCG 945*, ff. 853r-854v. They are questions *quibus respondere debent episcopi, vicarii apostolici, et Praefecti Missionum, ut de Regionibus sibi commissis plenam Sacrae Congregationi rationem reddant.* APF, *Acta 193*, f. 495r.

The first and the second questions concern the apostolic vicar and the apostolic vicariate respectively. Succeeding questions deal with the extension of the Church: 3. In quo regno sita est, et cui subest in temporalibus, 4. In qua provincia sit, vel quod provincias contineat, 5. Si ecclesia sit Archiepiscopalis, quot, et quales habeat Suffraganeos; si vero Episcopalis, cuius Archepiscopi sit Suffraganea, 6. An habeat Cathedralem, et propriam residentiam, et in qua civitate, 7. An habeat Seminarium,et ubi: quot juvenes ibidem alantur, et quibus studiis vacent, 8. An habeat Capitulum, et ex quot Canoncis constet, 9. An adsint Praebendae, et quae. APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 853r.

29 An old measure of distance, equal to 3 miles. *Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 554.

> land. The greater part of the apostolic vicariate is situated in the reign of Thiruvithamkoor, a small part in that of Kochi and a very small part in the territories of the English East India Company[30].

The apostolic vicariate of Malabar which is in the province of Malabar and which extended from Canara to Cape Comorin[31] had no fixed confines; but according to the determination of Rome, the jurisdiction was exercised in those churches of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor and of the diocese of Kochi where the authority of the ordinaries was impeded[32].

After describing the extension Msgr. Stabellini wrote about the strength of the apostolic vicariate:

> There are 21 parishes belonging to the Latin Christians and 39 to the Syro-Chaldeans; in the small island of Varapuzha, the residence of the apostolic vicars, there is a hospice of the Discalced Carmelites and a seminary for the Latin priests. In Pallipuram [Palliporto, Palliport] in the reign of Thiruvithamkoor there was another seminary for the Syrians, where with the proper expenses 23 Syrian clerics are educated. Besides the parochial churches there are also 22 chapels dispersed in the different parts of the apostolic vicariate[33].

In a letter[34] to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, Stabellini informed the Congregation that in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar there were 43,000 Latin and

30 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478r, "Si riduce ad un giro di circa novanta leghe francesi parte fra montagne, parte nel piano, per dove si viaggia quasi sempre in battelli, essendo frequentissimi i fiumi nel Malabar: la maggior parte del vicario apostolico è situato nel regno di Travancore, una piccola parte nel regno di Coccino, ed una piccolissima parte nei territori della Compagnia Inglese".

31 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 856r.

32 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 857v, "Conforme le determinazioni di Roma esercita la giurisdizione in tutte quelle chiese dell'arcivescovado di Cranganor e del vescovado di Coccino, dove è impedita la giurisdizione dell'Ordinario". Such a situation always created dispute between the jurisdictions.

33 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478r (*Note di Archivio*, based on the *relazione* presented by Msgr. Maurilius Stabellini), "Le parrochie di rito Latino sono 21, quello di rito Siro-chaldeo 39. In Verapoli piccola isola residenza dei vicari apostolici, come si è detto, ivi l' Ospizio dei PP. Carmelitani Scalzi, Inoltre un seminario per i chierici Latini e Siri; In Palliporto nel Regno di Travancore esiste un altro seminario, ove a proprie spese sono educati 23 chierici Siri; Vi sono oltre le chiese parrochiali, altre 22 cappelle sparse per i diversi luoghi del vicariati apostolico".

In a letter of February 25, 1828, which was sent to the Prefect of Propaganda he gave another statistics regarding the number of the churches: 20 Latin and 37 Syrian parishes. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 500r.

34 A letter which he wrote to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on August 7, 1829. See the mention of this letter in APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478r.

26,000 Syrian Catholics[35]. He added that the Syrian schismatics have 54 churches, one bishop and 100 priests[36].

In 1829 in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar there were 91 Syrian and 27 Latin priests[37]; there was then no foreign priest in Malabar at that time. Two of the Syrian priests of the vicariate were then in Madras: Paulo Palluli, 40 years old, from the parish of Parur, and Anthony Pallacollao, 38 years old, from the parish of Kalloorcad [Kalloorkattu], both of whom were helping the Capuchin missionaries[38].

In the *relazione* Stabellini informed the Congregation that there were two seminaries in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar[39], one exclusively for the Syrians (at Pallipuram) and the other (at Varapuzha) for both Syrians and Latins. There were no monasteries for women religious in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar during the time of Msgr. Stabellini[40], and there was one hospital situated at Varapuzha[41]. On June 8, 1825, Msgr. Prendergast wrote to the Prefect of Propaganda that there was also one school in the apostolic vicariate to teach reading and writing and to impart the Christian doctrine[42].

Thus we can have a better knowledge of the size of the Church, especially the number of the parishes of the Suriani Catholics in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar—although the different lists presented by the missionaries do not agree with regard to the number of the parishes[43]. Of the strength of the Suriani Catholics under the

35 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478v. He informed the Congregation: "I discendenti dagli antichi Cristiani del Malabar seguono il rito Siro colle riforme però del Concilio di Odiamper, per lo che il loro rito è diverso da quello dei Siri di Oriente. L'altra porzione dei cattolici, che deve la sua origine alla entrata dei Portoghesi nelle Indie, segue il rito Latino".

36 Besides the schismatic Syrians (Jacobites), Msgr. Stabellini held that there were also Nestorians and Euthycans. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478v.

37 But in another letter of August 7, 1829, he writes: 23 Latin and 90 Syrian priests. See APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 866r.

38 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 500r.

39 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 859r.

40 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 502r.

41 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 501r. This letter shows that in 1828 there were 20 lepers in this hospital.

42 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 159r.

43 See the lists in *Appendix IV & V*.

Padroado we have no clear idea, except the information which Casimiro Nazareth gives in *Mitras Lusitanas*. He writes: "In 1838 in the archdiocese of Kodungalloor there were 72 churches of the Syrian rite, with a Christian population of about 76,000, and in the apostolic vicariate of Verapoly (Malabar) 42 churches, with 32,000 Christians"[44].

3.1.3.1. Catechumenate

Msgr. Stabellini informed the Congregation in answer to question 67[45] of his *relazione* that the number of the Syrian Christians subjected to the apostolic vicar decreased by 8000 (from 1786 to 1830). On the contrary, the number of the Latin Christians increased in equal amount (8000). He held that many of these were catechumens baptized at Varapuzha in the last twelve years (1818-1829), whose number comes to 1003 and others from elsewhere[46]. Msgr. Prendergast in the letter of July 5, 1822, wrote: "the catechumenate of Varapuzha has always catechumens and 200 are baptized annually; some old and lacking in intelligence needed more time to be instructed"[47].

The letter of January 22, 1822, of Msgr. Poynter, the apostolic vicar of London, to Robert Gnadwell also portrays the catechumenate of Varapuzha[48]. A good description is given in the letter of Fr. Prosper which he wrote on September 30, 1814, to the General of the Carmelites, according to which there were always persons in the catechumenate to be instructed. The number sometimes increased from 60 or 70 to even 110[49].

[44] NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 58, "Em 1838 havia em Cranganor 72 egrejas do rito syriaco, sujeitasa jurisdiçao do padroado, com uma populaçao de cerca de 76,000 almas: ao vig. ap. de Verapoly eram sujeitas 42 egr. com 32,000 christaos".

[45] Number 67 of the questionnaire was: *An a viginti circiter annis status Fidei Catholicae, et Missionis augeatur, vel potius decrescat: et qua de causa*. See APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 854v.

[46] APF, *Acta 193*, f. 481v.

[47] APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v.

[48] See APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 467r-v.

[49] APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 78r-v.

3.1.3.1.1. Conversions

The documents of this period do not speak much about conversion of any type. According to Prendergast, many Nestorians were converted to Catholicism, but not vice versa. He wrote:

> After having prohibited the vicious edition of the Bible by the Protestant missionaries, I have impeded the children from going to their schools. They are my enemies and they say that I am the obstacle. They spend an immense amount of money, but with little profit[50].

In another letter of June 8, 1825, Prendergast showed that:

> Many schismatics become Catholics and pagans become Christians; but no Catholic or pagan becomes schismatic. The pagans say that the schismatic bishop and the English missionaries of the Bible Society are fraud and money is their God; their religion is false and the Roman Catholics are the old Christians of St. Thomas[51].

One of the reasons why the pagans were ready for conversion was—as one of the letters of the missionaries witnessed—that the Christians, but not Syrians, were considered the subjects of the European companies; therefore, they could live with little fear and with much liberty[52]. In the words of the letter,

> Many abandon the pagan religion and come to the Christian religion with the hope of getting a better means of life with the help of the faithful. And then they were accepted in the school of catechumenate of Varapuzha which is presided over by the apostolic vicar and with the missionaries. Everyday there are 4 hours of instruction according to the needs and they are received in baptism and are enrolled in the respective parishes. During my time they were about 300 to 350 per annum. Sometimes they cannot manage with the studies and, therefore, it becomes very diffcult for the missionaries and the priests to teach them. Once a pagan becomes Christian, he cannot then return to his old belief[53].

50 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v, "Dopo aver proibito la edizione viziosa della Bibia prodotta dai missionari, impedì ancora, che i ragazzi andassero alle loro scuole. Sono i medesimi molto miei inimici, e dicono, che io sono il ostacolo, che essi hanno nel Malabar. I medesimi spendono denaro immenso, ma con poco profitto".

51 APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 159v-160r, "Molti scismatici si fanno cattolici e continuamente i gentili fanno cristiani, ma nessun cattolico o gentile si fa scismatico; e tutti i gentili dicono publicamente che il vescovo scismatico e i padri inglesi della Società Biblica sono impositori, che il denaro è il loro Dio, che la loro religione è falsa, e che i Cattolici Romani sono vecchi cristiani del S. Tommaso".

52 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 221r, "Mentre li cristiani, non soriani, sono considerati come suditi delle compagnie Europee, perciò soffrono minori agravi e vivono con maggior libertà".

53 APF, *SC IO 2*. ff. 221r-v, "Non pochi che ne sono che abbandono il gentilissimo per la speranza di aver mezzi di meglio provvedere a loro bisogni con le limosine dei fedeli, e finalmente si battezzano ... tutti questi sono ricevuti nel catechumenato di Verapoli, dove è presiede il vicario apostolico con li PP. missionari, qui vi per 4 ore o più per giorno secondo il bisogno l'istruiscono; e ricevuto il battesimo, si distribuiscono per le parrochie raccomandandoli agli rispettivi parrochi; il loro numero nel mio tempo

3.2. The quality of the Church

The Suriani Catholics amidst the other Christian brethren and the Hindus always kept themselves separate, witnessing a life properly Christian. The absence of a common head for the Suriani Catholics was felt in the ecclesial life. A mixture of Latin and Syrian rite in the formation of the clergy and in the liturgical life of the faithful did not help the Syrian community to foster her identity and to make use of her spiritual patrimony.

3.2.1.The Christian life

The Christians in Malabar were either Latins, Suriani Catholics or Syrian schismatics[54]. The Catholics always had a free exercise of their religion. They obtained from the government the permission not to work on Sundays and feastdays[55]. The Christians of Malabar suffered no persecution not from the schismatics, nor from the pagans nor from the Protestants, so they were not hindered in the exercise of their religious cult. Msgr. Milesius Prendergast also mentioned that the then English Resident, David Newal, was a good friend of Varapuzha. According to him there was no persecution on the part of the government and there was complete liberty of conscience[56]. The European governments usually protected the Christians[57] and at times obtained for their subjects from the pagan rulers the liberty of cult[58].

ascendeva a 300 o 350 per anno. Tutti questi neofiti non sempre fanno buona riuscita, e cio imporre la grande difficoltà e fatica per li sacerdoti e missionari in ben istruirli prima del battesimo. Un gentile divenuto cristiano più non puo ritornare al gentilesimo".

54 The Syrian schismatics had one bishop and 100 priests. Msgr. Stabellini writes: "They follow the errors of the Oriental schismatics; some of them are Nestorians and other Jacobites. The majority of them are very ignorant, and they do not even know what they believe". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 499r.

55 As answer to the two questions (27. *An Catholicis Religionis exercitium ibidem libere permittatur*; 28. *An aliquam persecutionem patiantur Catholici, et a quibus*) Msgr. Stabellini in his *relazione* wrote: "In queste parti li catholici libero interamente hanno l'esercizio della loro religione; e come questi venivano costretti a travagliare per governo anche in giorno di domenica, si è ottenuto da residenti inglesi, che ingiorno di festa di precetto con possano essere obligati a travagliare; e così pure si è ottenuto, che non siano occupati in servizio diretto alle Pagodi". APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 858r.

56 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v (Letter of Msgr. Prendergast, dated July 5, 1822 (from Varapuzha) to Cardinal Fontana, Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide).

57 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 362r (letter of Msgr. Prendergast to the Prefect of Propaganda, on April 12, 1821).

58 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 222r. For more details on the free exercise of religious cult in Malabar see APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 222r.

3.2.1.1. The parochial life

The community of Syrian Christians was divided into parishes[59] and during the time of Msgr. Stabellini, in each parochial church subject to the apostolic vicar there was one proper parish priest, except in the parish of Tumboly, which was subject to the parish priest of Arthumkal, and Pappanatt and Chatiath which were subject to the parish priest of Varapuzha, who was the vicar general of the apostolic vicar. In each of these three parishes there was one assistant[60]. Owing to the scarcity of able Latin priests, or when a Latin parish was poor, it was the custom to put one Syro-Chaldean priest in such a Latin parish, since the Syro-Chaldean priests were satisfied with little[61].

In the Syrian parishes where there were more than one priest approved for confessions, the priests administered the parish in alternate years instead of the system of administering the parish in alternate weeks or months. Msgr. Prendergast in his letter of June 8, 1825, mentioned that the faithful who came to make the annual confession used to give money to the confessor. He prohibited such a system and allowed the people to give the confessors rice instead of money[62]. The parish priests of the Latin parishes were usually not transferable, unless for grave reasons. The parish priests, either Syrian or Latin, used to say Holy Mass for the people on holydays[63].

Generally the parish priests were elected by the people and were confirmed by the bishop[64]. In the vicariate, three parishes (solely Latin) were given to the Regulars,

59 Such a system was in existence even before the coming of the Portuguese. See APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 128r-v.

60 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 480r.

61 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 858v. The cardinals in the General Assembly of September 13, 1830, discussed the point which Msgr. Stabellini exposed in number 29 (cited above) and came to the opinion: "due to the scarcity of able Latin priests, or some Latin churches being poor, it is a custom to put a Syrian priest in a Latin parish as happened presently in the parishes of Changanasserry, Thumboly, Kodungalloor and Pappanatt since they are satisfied with a few". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 480r. The *Note di Archivio* explained that it was to be noted that because of the fact that there were fewer Latin priests and less expenditure was required for the subsistence of a Syrian priest, it could be licit that the Latin parishes be entrusted to the care of the Syrian priests. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 480r.

62 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 159r.

63 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 858v.

64 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 480r. This system, particular to the Syrians of Malabar, was the answer to number 31 (*An eligantur ab Episcopo*) of the questionnaire. So it was necessary that the apostolic vicar explain how ancient and from whence came this custom that the bishops admit and recognize in the people the right to elect and present the proper parish priest.

i.e., to the Carmelites, namely Varapuzha, Chatiath and Pappanatt, but there was only one parish priest for these three churches[65], i.e., the vicar general of the apostolic vicar, who had one assistant in each parish. In those parishes of more than one priest, they used to assist the parish priest; when there was only one priest, the parish priest used to call others for help in lent and on days of solemnity[66].

Msgr. Stabellini in the *relazione* showed that in 12 Syrian and 10 Latin parishes the Holy Eucharist was conserved with all possible decency, always having a lighted lamp[67]. In all the Latin churches, imitating Varapuzha, there was a procession on the feast of Corpus Christi with all due observance and devotion[68]. All the parishes, either Latin or Syrian, had their own boundaries and in the apostolic vicariate there were 22 chapels dispersed among the whole territory of the Church[69]. All parishes kept registers of baptism, marriage and death, which were written on palm leaves[70]. He wrote also about the cemeteries which were constructed in the form of a church[71]. With regard to the cemeteries and the church furnishings Msgr. Prendergast wrote:

> Besides the seven new churches and 34 new cemeteries which were covered with tiles and an altar in the form of a church, 30 other new ones were in construction. In some of the churches there were chalices of gold and the order was already given to buy rich sacerdortal vestments for feast days[72].

His letter of June 8, 1825, gives evidence of how the baptismal fonts were being made[73].

Msgr. Prendergast obtained permission from the Congregation of Propaganda that confessors, in exceptional cases, might hear the confession of men in places other than confessionals according to the circumstances and of women in case of infirmity[74].

65 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 500r.

66 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 859r.

67 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 499v.

68 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v. Accordingly, it is certain that this custom was founded by the Carmelites.

69 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 858v.

70 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 159r.

71 See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 159r.

72 APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 556r-v, "Oltre di sette nuove chiese e 34 nuovi cimiteri coperi con tegole, ed altare a forma di chiesa, più di altri 30 nuovi si stanno edificando.... che incominciano far calici d'oro, e mandano a Madras e Bingalla per comprare vestimenti sacerdotali ricchi per i giorni festivi".

73 Fro details see APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 159r.

74 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556r (letter of Msgr. Prendergast to the Prefect of the Congregation, dated July 2, 1822, from Varapuzha).

Msgr. Prendergast found that many of the priests often did not explain the gospel on Sundays; accordingly, he made it a law that the priests should present a homily on Sundays. The omission of the homily on three consecutive Sundays and the omission of reading the *Dottrina Cristiana* (in Malayalam) was considered a case reserved to the apostolic vicar[75].

3.2.1.2. Moral and sacramental life

There was no *communicatio in sacris* existing between the Catholics and the schismatics, and in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar marriage between Catholics and schismatics was not allowed[76]. The Catholics were severely prohibited from entering the churches of the schismatics. But in the three churches in the vicariate which were common to the Catholics and the schismatics the Catholic priests celebrated Holy Mass. In the parish of Trupunithura, Msgr. Prendergast built another separate church for the Catholics. During the time of Stabellini churches, separate for the Catholics, were built by the Catholics in two other places as well, i.e., in Caracunott and Vadagara. So by the year 1829, as Msgr. Stabellini held, the Catholics did not enter into the churches of the schismatics[77].

The demonstrations and the dances during feasts were severely criticised by the missionaries, especially by Msgr. Prendergast[78]. He was of opinion that the Christians should imitate the lives of the saints and their virtues and not such scandalous things[79]. As answer to no. 23 of the *relazione*[80], Msgr. Stabellini wrote that the moral quality of the people was *mala sunt mixta bonis*[81]. The Catholics were using the book *Dottrina*

75 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556r.

76 Although marriage between the Syrian Catholics and the Syrian schismatics was forbidden in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar, we know of some cases, as written by the Carmelite missionaries, when the ecclesiastical governor of Kodungalloor did allow it. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 502v.

77 APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 499v-500r.

78 See APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 609r-v.

79 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556r.

80 No. 23 of the questionnaire reads thus: *exprimatur numerus, et qualitas Catholicorum in singulis quibus que locis degentium.* APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 853v.

81 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 499r.

Cristiana printed in Rome. Some other books too—hand written—were used for the teaching of Moral Theology in the seminary and for the instruction of the people. The faithful read the Imitation of Christ (in Malayalam)[82]. With regard to the use of these books, Msgr. Stabellini informed the Congregation: "but only a very few priests have these books at their disposal. So it is determined not to grant the licence to confess to the priests who do not acquire one copy each of these books"[83].

3.2.1.2.1. Abuses of Christian faith

Stabellini informed the Congregation of Propaganda Fide that superstition, insubordination and usury were found among the Christians of Malabar[84]. While speaking about the moral quality of the faithful, he wrote that the abuses[85] most common among the Christians were superstitions, especially at the time of sickness. The Christians used to go to the diviners in search of superstitious means to heal and to learn the time, days and hours good to sow the field, etc.[86], practics which sometimes caused much difficulty in the communities[87]. On usury he wrote:

> Usury is the practice not only among the seculars but also among the ecclesiastics. It is not easy to extirpate such customs. There are also superstitions with regard to marriage customs, but these are not in the open. Besides all this it is remarkable that, even among the Christians of great moral rectitude, there is the highest degree of coldness in their approach to the Most Holy Sacrament, in spite of a most devout exterior in the church, when on their knees or in prostrations[88].

82 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 860v.

83 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 501v, "Ma pochi sono li sacerdoti che abbiano questi libri per la loro indolenza; si è però determinato di non concedere la licenza di confessare a sacerdoti non provveduti di una copia di questi libri".

84 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 481v.

85 This he writes as answer to questions 65 and 66 (65. *Enumerentur omnes abusus,qui forte irrepserunt etiam inter Catholicos, sive circa fidem, et ritus, sive circa mores, vel administrationem Sacramentorum, Divini Verbi praedicationem, et cuiusque alterius generis sint*, 66. *Exprimantur principales causae huiusmodi abusuum; et quomodo possint eradicari*). APF, *Acta 193*, f. 496v.

86 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 861r.

87 See the words of Msgr. Stabellini: "E vero che sapendosi non si lascia di assoggettare i colpevoli a qualche publica benché lieve penitneza, con tutto cio non si può arrivare a sbarbicare totalemente questo abuso. Parimenti sono molto testardi nel sostenere le loro opinioni contro anche gli Ordini dei Superiori Ecclesiastici ogni volta che non sono al loro genio, di sorte che ad ogni tratto nascono liti interminabili". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 502r.

88 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 861r, "L' usura è il costume non solamente tra secolari, ma anche tra gli ecclesiastici. Si ordina, si sgrida, ma non si puo estirpare questi costumi. Ultimamente ancora ho inteso che nei

The practice of superstition, according to Stabellini came from the fact the Christians were living among the infidels. The resistance to the orders of the superiors with regard to such things, Stabellini held, came at times from pride; usury from greed of profit or to acquire much without work, the seculars thinking that the ecclesiastics do the same[89]. One of the letters of the missionaries written in 1817 showed:

> Among the Christians not many were devoted and fervent; however, only very few were corrupted and unbelivers and wretched. They were generally very temperate. They did not have many books of iniquity or incitments to evil. The canonical penitences of the ancient churches were practised among them presently, but with indifference. As many of them were very ignorant, they should be instructed; if the pastor would exercise his duty with fervor, the people would follow[90].

3.2.1.2.2. The punishments

Although Msgr. Stabellini did not write about church punishments given to public sinners and culprits, Msgr. Prendergast described them in one of his letters written on July 5, 1822, to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide[91]. Disobedient Christians were subjected to corporal chastisements and a monetary fine of diverse amounts. Prendergast wrote that in all the churches there was a cross of light wood and, according to the gravity of the crime, the sinner carried the cross during the time of Holy Mass once or many times if the sin was public[92]. During his visits[93] to the churches he ordered that a box be put in each church inscribed *Alms*. As penance the sinner was to put one or two baiòchi[94] in the box. Prendergast wrote:

> These punishments either corporal or monetary were well-accepted by the priests as well as by the people. And this produced good effects. At the end of the year the money was collected and with this sum the oil for the lamps before the Holy Sacrament was bought for the poor churches. Later this

matrimoni concoronvi alcune cose superstiziose, ma non ne sono per anche bene al chiaro. Oltre di tutto cio quello ch' è rimarcabile anche fra più morigerati Cristiani, è una somma freddezza, parlando in generale, in quanto all' accostarsi a SSmi Sacramenti, unita però ad un esteriore devotissimo nelle chiese riguardo allo stare in ginocchioe alle prostrazioni".

89 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 861r.

90 APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 220r-v.

91 This letter is given in APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 556r-557r.

92 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556r.

93 For details on his visits in the parishes see APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 160r.

94 'baiòcco' (pl. baiòchi) is a copper coin with the value of about 5%of Lire, in use in the old papal states. *Grande Dizionario Illustrato*, 414.

law was revoked according to the order of the Congregation to establish new laws according to the instructions of the Congregation[95].

3.2.1.3. Extra-liturgical life

As answer to questions 8,9,10,11 and 12, Stabellini informed the Congregation that there were no Chapters or Canons in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar[96]. In all the churches either Latin or Syrian there were Pious Foundations or Leagues of Holy Mass (*Legati di Messe*), but the income was very slight and the stipend for each Mass was almost one carlino[97] or seven and a half baiòchi[98]. The revenues of these Pious Foundations were administered by two, three or four seculars, annually elected for the administraton of the temporal goods of each parish. At the end of the year they were to show the accounts to the people and their position was to be confirmed by the apostolic vicar[99].

In almost all parishes in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar, there was one teacher each to instruct the children in the Catholic Faith. In those parishes where the parents of the children could not afford to pay, these teachers were paid by the parishes. However, these teachers were free to receive anything which was voluntarily given by the children. In all other parishes the teachers were paid by the children. Msgr. Stabellini informed the Congregation that in those places where there was no teacher, he ordered two teachers of both sexes appointed, who for the love of God would teach the boys and the girls the rudiments of the Catholic religion[100].

95 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556r, "Questo castigo tanto corporale che pecuniario fu bene accetato dai sacerdoti e popolo, ed ha prodotto ottimo effetto, e nell fine dell'anno la multa aggiunta serve per comprare l'olio per il SS.mo nelle chiese povere. Secondo, poi l'ordine di V.Emi rivocò il detto stabilimi fino a nuovo ordine della Sacra Congregazione".

96 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 497v.

97 An ancient money (from the name of Carlo d' Angio, who first produced it). See *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, 215.

98 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 856v. It is answer to question no. 13 (*An sint in Diocesi piae aliquae Fundationes, seu Legata Pia*). In the letter of February 25, 1828, he mentioned that the stipend for one Mass was 10 baiòchi Romani and sometimes eight. In addition, many of the priests were not receiving the stipends. APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 500r. Msgr. Francis Xavier wrote that the stipend for one Mass was nine baiòchi. See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 719r.

99 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 497v.

100 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 500r.

Msgr. Stabellini reported that there were no catechists in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar[101]. Instead, the teachers in the parishes taught the children the religion and faith[102]. In many of the churches under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical governor of Kodungalloor there were fraternities. The parish community of Thalasserry (Tellicherry) was composed of three fraternities: viz, the fraternity of Our Lady's Rosary, the patroness of the Church; the fraternity of the Immaculate Conception; and the fraternity of St. James the Apostle[103]. The letter of the parishoners shows:

> The last fraternity [of St. James, the Apostle] is however now extinct in consequence of its brothers not paying their taxes and the celebration of its feast being stopped. The whole management of the church affairs had always been in the hands of the officers belonging to the fraternity of the Rosary[104].

3.3. Seminary

In 1829 there were 44 Syrian and 17 Latin clerics in the two seminaries in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar. Eighteen of the Syrian clerics were in the seminary of Varapuzha. All the Latin students were in the seminary of Varapuzha[105]. Twenty-three Syrians were in the seminary at Pallipuram[106], which was exclusively for the Syrians,

101 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 860r. It reads as follows: "In questa missione li missionari mai hanno usato, né vi sono, né per molti anni addietro vi furono catechisti, i quali altronde sarebbero molto utili".

102 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 501r. Regarding the same Msgr. Stabellini wrote: "Alla mancanza però di questi catechisti si è procurato di rimediare nella forma citata al numero 37. per rispetto dei fanciulli, i quali poi possono essere maestri degli adulti nelle loro proprie case. In quanto poi a questi stessi adulti s' incaricano li parrochi di non amministrare li SS. sacramenti a quei cristiani che ignorano li rudimenti della fede; e che abbiano cura che siano istruiti". APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 860r.

103 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 172r. This is a letter written by the parishoners of Thalasserry to the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on March 31, 1836, sent with the intention of informing the Prefect of their grievences against the ecclesiastical governors of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor. See this long letter in APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 171r-179v.

104 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 172r.

105 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478v. See also APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 467r, which speaks about the seminary at Varapuzha.

106 Other than Varapuzha and Pallippuram [Palliport] there were three additional places (one for the Latins and two for the Syrians) where the clerics were being formed. But during the time of Stabellini these were not in existence. See APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 500r-v. In the history of the Mar Thoma Christians of Malabar we see the attempt of different missionaries to start seminaries: the seminary at Kodungalloor begun in 1541 by the Franciscans, the seminary at Vaippincotta in 1581 by the Jesuits (in 1664 transferred to Ambazhakad), the seminary at Kaduthuruthy in 1624 by the Dominicans, the seminary at Varapuzha in

and three in their proper parishes[107]. Msgr. Prendergast gave the Congregation of Propaganda through a letter of July 5, 1822, the following information:

> Both the seminaries, Syrian or Latin, have sufficient number of students for this mission and they do well. But there is a great scarcity of Moral Theology books in the Malabar language for the use of the Syrians[108].

As answer to question no. 43[109] Msgr. Stabellini in the *relazione* informed the Congregation:

> For ordination the Latin students are obliged to know Latin and the necessary things to receive each order. They should also know the Compendium of the *Dottrina Cristiana*. And after ordination they are to attend the Moral Theology classes. The Syrians are obliged to do the same, but Syriac instead of Latin[110].

1682 by the Carmelites (See PUTHIAKUNNEL, *Keralathile Seminarikal*; THATTIL, *Priestly Formation*). A letter of the archbishop of Kodungaloor, dated June 23, 1653, shows the strength of the seminary at Vaippincotta: e dos cincuenta alcunos dos seminario de Vaippicotta, e dos oito missionarios da Companhia da Jesus. AHU, *RCI Caixa 22*, no. 39. But for various reasons none of these seminaries last long. In September 1764 Propaganda replied favourably to the requests of the Carmelites to start a seminary under the control of Propaganda. See APF, *Lettere 204*, ff. 528r-v (letter dated September 15, 1764). In 1766 at the request of the prefect of Propaganda, though the contemplated seminary was not yet built, the Carmelites began two formation centres, one at Varapuzha for the Latins and the other one at Alangadu for the Syrians. In 1774 both Latin and Syrian seminarians were drawn together to form the Varapuzha seminary. VARICATT, *Suriani Church of India*, 347-348.

107 Living in the parishes with the parish priest and learning from him the necessary things for ordination was the old system among the Mar Thoma Chrisitians, known as *Malpanate*.

108 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556r, "Ambo i seminari. siriano o latino hanno studenti sufficienti per questa missione e si portano bene. Vi è mancanza di Teologia Morale Malabarica per uso di Siriani". He expressed the same idea in another letter which he wrote to the Prefect of Propaganda, dated April 12, 1821. See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 362v. In the letter of November 1, 1822, which Msgr. Prendergast wrote to Cardinal Fontana, the Prefect of the Congregation, mentioned that the seminaries had a good number of students and the churches a sufficient number of priests. APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 581r. The answer to the letter of Stabellini is in APF, *Lettere 312*, ff. 24r-25r.

109 Question no. 43 reads thus: *An sint etiam clerici, et quot: quomodo, et ad quem titulum ordinentur; ubi resideant; et quid ab illis exigatur, ut ad sacros Ordines promoveri possint.* APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 854r.

110 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 859r, "Per l'ordinazione dei Latini si esige che sappiano il Latino, le cose necessarie a sapersi per ricevere ciascun ordine, ed il compendio della Dottrina Cristiana stampato in Roma, e dopo l'ordinazione attendono allo studio della Teologia. Dai Siriani si esigge lo stesso, solamente in luogo della Latina si esigge che abbiano appreso la lingua siriana".

Regarding the same the cardinals in the General Assembly reflected: "Siccome sembra chiaro che in questo luogo Monsig. Stabellini tratti anche dell'ordinazione in Sacris, giacche pria delle riportate parole, avverte che tutti i chierici si ordinano a titolo di patrimonio, pare una cosa non coerente colla massima dovunque adottata, il vedere che i chierici nel Malabar incomincino ad attendere alla Teologia dopo aver ricevuta la sacra Ordinazione". APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 480r-v.

All the clerics were ordained to the title of the patrimony, but it was very meagre, altogether a fund of 100 scudi which Msgr. Stabellini raised, as he held, to 150 scudi[111]. Msgr. Prendergast was of opinion that the Latin priests and the seminarians knew Portuguese well, so he used to write pastoral letters and other works in Portuguese[112].

3.3.1. The seminary formation

The formation of the clerics in the two seminaries was uniform especially in regard to studies. But it is not clear what was the form of liturgical formation at that time. The *relazione* speaks about the scarcity of books[113] for the instruction of the Christians and the priests, for the latter had few missals, rituals and breviaries[114]. The Syrian clerics were generally using handwritten copies of the breviaries and the scarcity, Stabellini held, caused a lack of uniformity in the recitation[115]. The copies of *Dottrina Cristiana,* which was being taught in the seminaries, were available in Portuguese and Malayalam printed in Rome. Although they were free from errors, the copies were not always according to the need[116].

With regard to the inadequacy of the Syrian breviaries and Rituals, Msgr. Stabellini proposed that a bishop or a priest of the Syrian rite be appointed to examine all that concerned the Syrian liturgy and to teach the Syrian priests[117]. Taking into consideration Msgr. Stabellini's proposal, the Secretary of Propaganda suggested that:

> It would be opportune to see in the best way possible to the necessity of instructing them [priests] in those places. The rite of the Syro-Malabarians is different from that of the Syrians of the Orient. At present the only Syrian priest who is in Rome is Fr. Michele Giarve, brother and procurator of

111 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 859r.

112 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 557r.

113 Many of the letters of the missionaries sent to Rome showed the scarcity of books and thereby the necessity of the same for the formation of the clergy and the faithful.

114 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 480v. The same is also seen in his letter of February 25, 1828. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 500v.

115 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 501r.

116 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 501v; APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 159v.

117 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 481r, "Vi sarebbe ancora necessario un vescovo o almeno un prete di rito Siro del Levante per esaminare tutto cio, che concerne la liturgia Siriana, ed istruire in essa questi preti".

> Patriarch Giarve, who resides in Lebanon. It is desirable to adhere to the proposal of the apostolic vicar; nothing else can be done except to write to Msgr. Giarve asking him to send one able priest to give necessary instruction for the correct procedure in liturgy for the Syrians of Malabar, who are, it should be noted, not subject to the Antiochean patriarch of the Syrians[118].

The students to the priesthood, after having received the diaconate, should be expected to give three homilies on three Sundays publicly in the church of Varapuzha[119]. Msgr. Prendergast ordered that the canons of the Synod of Udayamperoor be taught in the seminaries as he found that many did not know them[120].

3.3.2. The maintenance of the seminary

Since the French Revolution the Congregation was annually giving 400 scudi for the seminaries and 60 scudi for the two teachers, one Latin and one Syrian, in both seminaries. Msgr. Stabellini held that presently the Congregation was giving no stipend to the seminaries[121] with the result that for the maintenance of the seminary the vicariate itself had to find the money. For the running of the seminary, for paying the teachers, and for giving stipends monthly to poor seminarians, they received the money from a fund[122] kept in the treasury of the English East India Company, which come

118 APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 480v-481r, "Le disposizioni opportune nel miglior modo possibile ad un affare così interessante per la istruzione publica in quelle contrade. ... il rito dei Siri Malabari diversifica da quello dei Siri di Oriente: Attualmente l'unico sacerdote Siro che ritrovasi in Roma è D. Michele Giarve, fratello e procuratore di Monsig. Patriarca Giarve dimorante nel Libano. Qualora vogliasi aderire a cio che Monsig. Vicario Apostolico Stabellini propone, non potrebbe alro farsi, se non che scriveme a Monsig. Giarve medesimo, il quale è in grado di deputarvi un sacerdote idoneo a dare le istruzioni necessarie per il retto andamento della liturgia dei Siriani del Malabar, i quali per altro e da notarsi che non sono soggetti al Patriarca Antiocheno dei Siri".

119 APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 159r-v.

120 See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 160r. He made it an obligation to read one or two chapters of this synod in the parish churches on Sundays.

121 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478v. The fact that Propaganda was helping the seminary of Varapuzha is clear from the letter which Msgr. Francis Xavier, the apostolic vicar of Malabar, wrote to *Propagation de la Foi, Lyon*, in 1838 stating that the seminary was maintained entirely by the Roman Congregation of Propaganda Fide until the calamities in Rome. See APF, *Lettere 320*, ff. 1215r (letter from Propaganda to Mr. Vema, President of the Central Council of the Propagation of Faith of Lyons, dated Novemebr 10, 1838).

122 Msgr. Stabellini says that he did not know the source of this fund. With regard to the origin of the money see chapter 4, pp. 245-253.

almost to 420 scudi annually. The half of the same was used to maintain the seminary and the rest for the hospital and pious works[123]. Stabellini wrote:

> I do not know how it originated; but I know that in the papers of the contract of the treasury of the English East India Company, which my letter of February 25, 1828, to the Congregation mentions that the effects of this should be employed for the expenses of the seminary, the rest for the pious works, but nothing is said about the hospital, for which a declaration of the Sacred Congregation is necessary[124].

It is to be specially noted that in the other seminary in the apostolic vicariate, i.e., at Pallipuram solely for the Syrians, 23 Syrian clerics were being educated at their proper expenses[125].

Asking for a clearance on the part of Propaganda regarding the use of the interest of this amount, Msgr. Stabellini explained the situation in Malabar, especially during the time of his vicar general, Fr. Nicolas:

> This religious, besides being the vicar general, is occupied in the temporal affairs of the house, so that he has no time to teach the seminarians the Moral Theology; so it is very necessary that at least one another missionary, who could teach the seminarians the Moral Theology and he might be granted also an annual pension from the Congregation since funds are very limited for the maintenance of the seminary—only 420 scudi, which is the income of the sum received as interest from the English East India Company during the time of Msgr. Raimond[126].

123 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478v.

124 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478v, "Questa divisone donde abbia avuto origine non so; so bene, che nel foglio del contratto col tesoro della Compagnia Inglese, di cui parlai alla Sacra Congregazione nella mia lettera delli 25. Febbraio dell'anno scorso, dicesi, che questi frutti debbono impiegarsi per le spese del seminario, e l'avvanzo impiegarsi in opere pie, niente parlandosi dell'ospedale, per cui è necessario una dichiarazione della Sacra Congregazione".

In the letter of February 25, 1828, the apostolic vicar already mentioned the proposal that the above said capital, existing in the treasury of the English East India Company, of which the fruits 420 scudi, was in favour of the mission of Malabar.

125 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 497v, "Evvi pure un altro seminario in questo vicariato apostolico posto in una chiesa soriana situata in palliporto nel Regno di Travancore, dove sono educati a proprie spese 23 chierici siriani".

126 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 479r, "Questo religioso pure oltre l'essere vicario generale, è ancora occupato negli affari temporali, della casa, per il che non ha il tempo necessario per insegnare la Morale a' seminaristi; ónde è necessarissimo almeno un'altro missionario, che prenda sopra di se questa cura d' inseganre la Morale, e che abbia un annua pensione dalla Sagra Congregazione, giacche è molto limitato il temporale, da cui dipende la manutenzione del seminario, consistendo questo unicamente in circa scudi 420 Romani, che sono frutti di danaro dato ad interesse alla Compagnia nel tempo di Monsignor Raimondo".

3.3.3. The problem of admission of children of fishermen in the seminary at Varapuzha

When Msgr. Maurilius Stabellini was the apostolic vicar of Malabar he wanted to admit in the seminary of Varapuzha children from the families of fishermen[127]. In the year 1829 this became a problem when he wanted to enforce his idea on the faithful against the will of the clergy[128].

3.3.3.1. The problem in question

The seminary at Varapuzha where the students of both rites—Syrian and Latin—were being formed, was one of the two seminaries then existent in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar[129]. A letter dated September 20, 1829, from the priests, clerics and the laymen of the Latin rite[130] sent to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide[131] brought this problem to the attention of Rome. After having exposed their views about the fishermen,[132] they stated their arguments as to why they opposed allowing the children of fishermen

127 The missionaries while speaking about the fishermen often used the terms *casta, stirpe*, etc.

128 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 482r. It is the seventeenth point of the report of the General Assembly of Propaganda Fide held on September 13, 1830.

129 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478r. Fr. Nicolas wrote that the seminary was erected 70 years previously. See his words: "sono circa 70 anni che fu eretto il seminario in Verapoli con autorità ed approvazione della S. Congregazione". APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 601r.

130 This letter, undersigned by 180 persons (priests, clerics and laymen), was sent from Kochi. APF, *Acta 193*, f. 482r. See this letter in APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 506r-507r (*sommario*, no. 3); APF, *SOCG 945*, ff. 864r-865v. (It is in Latin).

131 From this letter Propagnda came to understand the gravity of the problem. So the cardinals of the General Assembly took into discussion this problem. After presenting the report, the cardinal *ponente* given as *dubbio* 12 the question of admission of the children of fishermen in the seminary of Varapuzha. *Dubbio* 12 reads thus: *Quale istruzione darsi relativamente alla controversia insorta nel Malabar intorno alla ammissione nel seminario di Verapoli, ed alla sacra Ordinazione dei giovani figli della casta dei pescatori?* APF, *Acta 193*, f. 484v.

132 The letter describes the caste of fishermen: "Haec classis est gens vilissima, & contempta in hac regione, praecipue autem apud gentiles, & infideles taliter neglecta, ac abominabilis ut si aliquis gentilis accurrat illis, necesse est ut recedant ad certam distantiam, & propius, quam ad dictam distantiam aliquem piscatorem appropinquare eis eveniat, qui se contaminatos esse credunt".

to become priests[133]. Their letter showed their disagreement with the decision of Msgr. Stabellini, the then apostolic vicar of Malabar, of admitting students from the families of fishermen to the priesthood.

3.3.3.1.1. The background of this problem

In 1814 Fr. Prosper admitted in the seminary of Varapuzha two students from the families of fishermen[134]. Although some of the Latins complained against Prosper, it was of no use[135]. When Msgr. Alcantara became the interim apostolic vicar of Malabar, taking into consideration the mind of the people—though not all—promised that no more students from fishermen families would be admitted to sacred orders[136].

Owing to the aversion to the race of fishermen on the part of the faithful in general in Malabar, in 1820 it was decided that the two seminarians of Varapuzha should go to Bombay where they might be ordained priests entitled for the apostolic vicariate of Bombay[137]. This decision was not being executed. When Msgr. Prendergast became the apostolic vicar, he sent these two seminarians to Bombay[138]. In 1826 when

133 The reason for their argument is: "quod haec gens piscatorum est in opprobrium, & contumeliam apud infideles, & gentiles, omnes sacerdotes, & clerici erunt in abominatione, & vituperio, quod utique dedecet nostrae religioni". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 482r.

134 See APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 864r; APF, *Acta 195*, f. 155r (letter of Msgr. Alcantara on July 26, 1831). Before the time of Prosper, there were some attempts of admitting the children of fishermen in the seminary. For example, in 1778 Msgr. Francis Sales, in 1790 Msgr. Joseph Soledade, the bishop of Kochi, and in 1794 Msgr. Aloysius Mary tried to admit them, but always met with opposition. See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 89r (letter of Francis Xavier to Propaganda on October 18, 1832).

135 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 506r. The letter of the Latins says: Quod nos id aegere ferentes oppositionem fecimus, et petivimus illos ex seminario ejicere, sed audire nolens....

136 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 506r, "Illmus Dom.us D.P. Petrus de Alcantara Vicarius Apostolicus Bombay electus fuit interinus Vicarius Apostolicus Malabariae, cui nos statim recursum fecimus, ut dictos duos piscatores de seminario ejiceret, sed dictus prudens Prelatus nobis promisit velle remedium apponere, et id facturum in adventu Vicarii Apostolici, promittens quoque ad ordines illos non admittere".

137 See APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 864r. This was according to the will and mind of Msgr. Alcantara as the result of mature consideration.

138 The letter says: "Illmus Dom.us D. Milesius Prendergast statim jussit, ut dicti duo piscatores exirent de seminario verapolitano, ac Bombay pergerent, quo facto, nos amissam pacem reperimus". APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 864r.

Msgr. Stabellini came to Varapuzha to study the situation regarding Prendergast, he brought with him one of these two—who were already ordained priests[139]—and made him his confessor[140]. Instigated by this priest, as indicated in the report of the General Assembly of Propaganda of September 13, 1830, Stabellini decided to admit in the seminary of Varapuzha and to promote to sacred orders the children descending from the race of fishermen[141]. The letter of Fr. Nicolas clearly states the situation as follows:

> He [the 'fishermen' priest] became the spiritual director of Msgr. Stabellini and also the adviser of the affairs of the missions. Probably due to his insinuation Stabellini decided to take protection of that caste[142].

Since many of the Latins opposed the act of Msgr. Stabellini[143], he wrote a pastoral letter enforcing the faithful, both priests and clerics to accept his views[144]. In the pastoral letter of July 14, 1829, he wrote that those who would stand against his view of admitting the children of fishermen in the seminary of Varapuzha commited sin against the faith; in addition, the priests and clerics should have to sign a formula of oath accepting his views[145]. Those who were not ready to take this oath, he held, should not be admitted to sacred orders and were also denied their subsidies[146].

139 The name of these two priests were Pascal Baylon and Sebastian Rodriguez. APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 87v.

140 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 599r (letter of Fr. Nicolas to Fr. Francis Xavier).

141 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 482v. See also the words of Fr. Candidus: "Ma come è noto Monsig. Stabellini sposato il partito dei pescatori e contro il opinione commune e contro l'esempio dei precedenti vicari apostolici ha voluto ammettere nel seminario due di quella casta stimata civilmente abietta e cosi nei publici dicasteri trattata. Questo atto produsse in tutti i latini un malcontento tale da non potersi spiegare". ACO, *SC Malabar 1862-1877*, f. 636r.

142 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 599r, "Questo divenuto il direttore spirituale di detto Monsig. Maurelio, e consigliere degli affari della missione; probabilmente per sua insinuazione lo mosse a voler prendere la protezione della detta casta...".

143 Many of the Latins approached Msgr. Stabellini and told him that the faithful did not prefer the ordination of students from the families of fishermen on account of the mentality of the people. See details in APF, *Acta 193*, f. 506v.

144 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 482v.

145 "Scripsit unum folium probans ad statum ecclesiasticum admitti debere gentes piscatores, et concludens peccare contra fidem omnes illos, qui dicerent non debere admitti, jubens quoque omnes sacerdotes, et clericos subscribere debere dictum folium promittentes cum juramento, nullam faciendi oppositionem si aliquiis piscator in seminario introducendus esset". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 482v; See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 599v.

146 "Quin etiam declaravit nobis dictus Vicarius Apostolicus nisi subscriberetur supradictum folium pro favore gentis piscatoris, nullos ordines collaturum nostris filiis, qui seminario Verapolitano adsunt; negavit quoque illis subsidium, quod consueverat pro victu distribui". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 482v.

3.3.3.1.2. The pastoral letter of Stabellini[147]

In the pastoral letter Stabellini wrote first about the duty of a Christian, especially his own duty, as he was obliged by the force of office, to extirpate from the mind of the Christians all the prejudices regarding the diversity of races and castes. Such a belief about races, he held, was one of most absurd in Christianity[148]. Stabellini was of opinion that the pagans relate their idea of castes to creation[149]. The pastoral letter states:

> Their idea of diversity of castes is not *accidental* but *essential*, which is contrary to the Christian faith, by which we are taught that all the human beings are essentially of one race and, if there is a distinction of grade and dignity among them, it is an accidental one which consequently does not hinder the populace, having changed their accidental circumstances, to pass to the grade of nobility at the dispositon of divine providence[150].

He then brought forward examples of such change from the Old and the New Testaments in support of his idea of caste[151]. Thus he concluded that the idea of the pagans with regard to caste, i.e., the difference of caste was essential and therefore no change would be possible among the castes, was erroneous and this false opinion hindered many who belonged to the inferior classes to come up to the high posts in human society[152].

Msgr. Stabellini, condemning the idea of diversity of races among the Christians, recommended that Christians do away with all false idea of caste by which one group of Christians was being ill-treated and neglected. He wrote that those priests who

147 See the pastoral letter dated July 14, 1829, in APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 509r-511v (*sommario*, no. 5); APF, *SOCG 945*, ff. 868r-869v; APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 605r-608r (translation in Italian from Portuguese by Fr. Francis Xavier).

148 For a better understanding of the complex phenomenon of the so-called 'caste system' in the Christian communities see DHAVAMONY, *Christianity and Societies*, 90-93.

149 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 509r. See the writings of the missionaries on the caste system in APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 598r; APF, *SC IO 1*, 331r-v; APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 220v-221r; APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 88r-89v.

150 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 509r, "Una diversità non già accidentale, ma essenziale tra gli altri uomini, cosa contraria alla sancta fede, dalla quale siamo istruiti che tutti gli uomini sono essenzialmente di una stessa stirpe, e si vi è distinzione fra essi di gradi, e dignità tutta questa distinzione è una distinzione accidentale, la quale per consequenza non impedisce che uomini plebei, mutate le circostanze accidentali, passino al grado d'uomini per disposizione della divina provvidenza".

151 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 509r.

152 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 509v.

had impeded the fishermen to be admitted in the seminary of Varapuzha and thereby denied them the sacred orders committed a sin against faith. Although it was a fact that the fishermen were always excluded from the priesthood, "the *fact* does not prove the *right*". So it was illicit to exclude the fishermen from the priesthood and, if such an exclusion always had been maintained, it was an unreasonable practice, an abuse and injustice. The reason why during the initial years of Latin Christianity in Malabar no one from the Latin rite was admitted in the seminary, not even the *chapeo*[153], was the opposition from the Syrian priests of Malabar. Later *chapeo* were admitted in the face of opposition. Accordingly, Stabellini concluded that there was no reason to exclude the caste of fishermen from the priesthood[154].

Msgr. Stabellini held the view that contempt towards the fishermen, considering them as lower class was pagan, not Christian. And he wrote in the pastoral letter that, therefore, it was unreasonable to say that if the fishermen were admitted to sacred orders, conversion to Christianity from other castes of pagans was impossible. As the idea of caste among the pagans was *essential*, when they were to be admitted to the catechumenate itself they should deny this idea, otherwise they could not be baptized legitimately. Thus on the basis of opposition to fishermen being admitted to the priest-

153 Stabellini used the term *chapeo*. In the common parlance it should be 'Topaz', a group of Latin Christians who descended from the Indo-Portuguese families who were considered separate from the other group of the Latin Christians. Msgr. Francis Xavier in a letter of December 18, 1832, to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide wrote: "I presenti Cristiani Latini del Malabar in generale si distinguono in tre classi. Nella prima, si comprendono tutti i discendenti per via maschile degli Europei Portoghesi, Olandesi, Inglesi, Tedeschi ecc. tutti costoro si chiamono in commune Topaz, o Paranghi o Munuticar. Nella seconda classe si contano tutti quelli d'una sciatta chiamata dei Mucua: si chiamano con questa nome, ed anche con quelli di Anjuticar. Nella terza classe si contengono tutti gli altri di sangue Malabarico, che non siano prosapia dei Mucua. Il loro nome commune è Emuticar. Fra costoro vi sono persone originarie di tutte le tribù, o caste, che si contano fra i gentili dalla più nobile dei Bramani, fino alla più umile dei Sudra. Tutti i nuovi convertiti di qualsiasi casta anche umilissima, eccetuata quella dei Mucua, entrano in questa classe. In essa non si fa più memoria della schiatta da cui ciascun derivò: e nel domestico, civile e religioso non si attende punto all'origine, ma all'educazione, abilità, richezza e probità". APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 88r. For further details on these three classes of Christians see APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 88r-89v. In one letter of the bishop of Kochi we see: "In alcune parti dell'India quelli che si convertono al cristianesimo conservano la casta che avevano nel paganesimo.... Nel Malabar però perdono la casta che avevano nel gentilissimo.... I Mucuar per esempio convertondosi prendono il nome di Paravers in Tuticorn e Trivandrum ... e quelli di Anjuticar (cinquecento) in Cochin e Verapoli. Le altre caste poi, sia superiori sia inferiori prendono il nome di Emuticar (settecento) in Cochin e Verapoli". ASV, *Spogli Cardinali, Aiuti*, Busta 1.

154 See APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 509v-510v.

hood, they should not even be admitted to Christianity. It was absurd for priests to hold this contrariety which alienated them from the faith and the spirit of Christians. He held that he would not ordain any cleric from the Latin rite or give tonsure to the seminarian of the said rite unless he gave in writing his signature as a proof of not holding the contrary view[155].

3.3.3.1.2.1. The formula of promise by the clerics and priests of the Latin rite

All the priests of the Latin rite of the apostolic vicariate of Malabar had to take a promise to accept the pastoral letter of July 14, 1829, of Msgr. Stabellini, the aposotolic vicar of Malabar. The following is the formula of promise made by the priests:[156]

> We, all the priests of the Latin rite of this apostolic vicariate of Serra, Malabar and Kochi, the undersigned, after having read and agreed to that which is contained in the above said pastoral of Msgr. Maurilius, bishop of Dolica and the apostolic vicar, promise that from now onwards we do not show any contrariety either in writing or in words, that the students of the caste of fishermen are admitted in the seminary for study, and then to receive the orders till priesthood inclusively; and if at any time we make, speak or write something in opposition to this promise, from now onwards we submit ourselves to any punishment that is given to us either from the same prelate or from his successors or from anyone who takes their place in this Malabar[157].

All the clerics and the seminarians had to do so[158]. Regarding the same Fr. Nicolas wrote:

155 See APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 511r-v.

156 It was originally written in Portuguese and was included at the end of the pastoral letter. A copy of the pastoral letter together with the promise was sent to Rome to the attention of the Prefect of Propaganda with his letter of August 7, 1829.

157 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 607v, "Noi tutti sacerdoti di rito latino di questo vicariato apostolico della Serra Malabar e Cochino sotto segnati, avendo letto e inteso tutto cio che contiensi nella sopradetta pastorale di D.F. Maurelio vescovo Dolicense, e interino vicario apostolico, promettiamo, che da qui in avanti non mostraremo alcuna contrarietà né per scritto né per parole, che li giovani della stirpe de' pescatori sieno ammessi nel seminario per lo studio, e di poi per ricevere gli ordini sino al presbiterato inclusivamente; e se in qualche tempo o faremo, o parleremo, o scriveremo qualche cosa in opposizione a questa nostra promessa, sino d' adesso per allora noi ci sottomettiamo a qualumque pena ci sarà imposta o dallo stesso detto nostro prelato, o da'suoi successori, o da chi farà le loro veci in questo Malabar".

158 The formula of promise which they had to make was the same except for the words *chierici e seminaristi* instead of *sacerdoti*. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 511v and APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 599v.

> He [Stabellini] gave them a formula which showed the necessity of admitting the fishermen in the seminary and who ever opposes, sins against the faith. With this oath both the priests as well as the clerics were to promise that they should not speak bad of the fishermen nor oppose their admission into the seminary[159].

Such an oath confused the seminarians and made them uncertain of what they should do in such a situation.

3.3.3.2. Letter of Stabellini to Rome on August 7, 1829[160]

After having made known his idea to the people through his pastoral letter, Stabellini wrote to Propaganda explaining the situation of Malabar, especially after the controversy. After having thanked the Prefect for the letter of December 30, 1828, he related the repugnance of the Latin priests towards the fishermen[161].

3.3.3.2.1. His explanation of his acts

After having expressed his view on caste[162], Stabellini mentioned the history of this controversy. The letter of September 20, 1829, written by the faithful and priests was undersigned by a very few faithful, only 120 out of 43,000 Latin Christians. He was of opinion that the aversion was mainly on the part of the priests and not the faithful[163]. He wrote:

> I fear that the priests hold the same superstition as the pagans. So I felt obliged in conscience to extend first a circular letter to all the Latin priests instructing them on this matter and secondly to ask them for a promise in writing that they not show any repugnance either in writing, or in words[164].

159 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 599v, "Un foglio, col quale dimostrava la necessità di doversi ammettere la casta pescatore nel clero, e chi si opponeva peccava contro la fede. Sotto il detto foglio vi era un attestato da doversi sottoscrivere cosi da sacerdoti, come da seminaristi con giuramento di non poter parlare male della detta casta, né far opposizione ammettendola nel seminario".

160 See this letter in APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 507r-508v (*sommario*, no. 4); APF, *SOCG 945*, ff. 866r-867v.

161 APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 507r-v.

162 The same as in the pastoral letter

163 See APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 866r.

164 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 507v, "Io col timore che li preti siano, e restino imbevuti della superstizione stessa dei gentili, mi sono creduto obligato in coscienza di stendere in primo luogo una lettera circolare a tutti li preti latini diretta ad istruirli su questo particolare, e di poi a chiedere loro una promessa in iscritto, che non mostrarebbero ne per scritto, ne per parole, ne pe fatti ripugnanza alcuna".

He held that he demanded such a promise only from the Latin priests, 23 in number and from the 17 Latin clerics, and not from the Syrian priests[165] since they did not show any repugnance. He justified his action saying that he did it since Pope Clement XII expressed such an idea in his words *ne gentes istae sint timentes Dominum, sed nihilominus et idolis suis servientes*. He added that this aversion, therefore, was from pride or from some other human motive and was based on false principle. He concluded that the race of fishermen in Malabar was not so lowly since the relatives of the majority of the Latin priests who belong to the castes of tailors, carpenters, masons, etc., were not noble classes. So discrimination only towards the fishermen was not right[166].

3.3.3.3. The aftermath of the pastoral letter

Three months later he wrote another letter[167] to the Congregation in order to give more detail on the controversy regarding fishermen problem[168]; however, in this letter he wrote that he had nothing new to add[169]. He then mentioned the letter of the priests and the laymen of Kochi dated September 20, 1829, saying that the Congregation might have been better informed of the situation by their letter[170].

As a protest to the activities of the apostolic vicar, two priests of the apostolic vicariate went to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical governor of Kochi[171]. The seminarians wrote to Msgr. Alcantara, describing the events of the present situation and asking whether they had to fill out the formula or not[172]. Alcantara did not give a direct reply to the seminarians, but wrote to the vicar general, Fr. Nicolas, saying:

165 There were then 90 Syrian priests and 40 Syrian clerics.

166 See APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 867r.

167 This letter was written on November 13, 1829. See this letter in APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 512r-513v (*sommario*, no. 6); APF, *SOCG 945*, ff. 870r-871v.

168 In this letter mention is made of the *relazione* and a letter of July 1, 1829, and one of August 7, 1829.

169 He explained once more why he wrote the letter of August 7, 1829.

170 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 512r.

171 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 870v.

172 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 512v.

> The seminarians wrote to me asking whether to fill out the formula or not, complaining against Msgr. Stabellini. I decided not to answer their letter since I do not want to interfere in the affairs which do not belong to me[173].

Alcantara wrote to Fr. Nicolas that it would be better that the seminarians not oppose the decision of Stabellini to admit the children from fishermen families in the seminary of Varapuzha[174]. The reply of Alcantara put the students in dismay. Fr. Nicolas in a letter to Fr. Francis Xavier wrote:

> Fourteen seminarians refused to undersign. So the bishop threatened saying that he would not give ordination to them. But it did not move them. Consequently he impeded them the *quartel* (the money for food) and this irritated many. Then they refused to serve the Holy Mass of Fr. Pascal. Although the bishop questioned them one by one, they did not want to serve the Holy Mass of the same priest. So the bishop did not want the seminarians to assist his Mass as well[175]. Instead he allowed the Syrian seminarians to assist his Mass and he did not allow the Latin seminarians to kiss his ring after the Ave Maria[176].

All the priests of the Latin rite and 500 laymen presented before Stabellini their sentiment of excluding the said priest, Fr. Pascal, from Varapuzha and not to admit any student from the family of fishermen in the seminary of Varapuzha. The prelate answered that he would give his reply in 15 days[177].

As Fr. Nicolas was very contrary to him in this matter, Stabellini wanted, as he wrote, to leave Varapuzha and live in another church. "For not being a mockery in the presence of my vicar general I go to another church", he wrote. Therefore, he left Varapuzha and lived elsewhere[178]. See the words of Fr. Nicolas regarding the then prevalent chaos at Varapuzha:

173 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 512v, "Qualche tempo che codesti seminaristi di rito latino mi hanno scritto lagnandosi di Monsig. Maurelio.... Io sin adesso ero risoluto di non rispondere alla loro lettera, perchè non giusto d'ingerirmi in cose che non mi appertengono".

174 So quoting the words of Alcantara, Stabellini in the letter of November 13, 1829, concluded that Alcantara too held his sentiment.

175 It was the custom that the Latin seminarians were used to assist the Holy Mass celebrated by the bishop.

176 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 599v. Original is in Italian.

177 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 599v. Fr. Nicolas wrote to Fr. Francis Xavier that although Stabellini promised that he would give them the answer in 15 days, no answer was given them; also that it was not proper that he would give such an answer. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 599v.

178 In the letter of November 13, 1829, he stated that at the time of writing he was in the other church. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 513r. But he did not mention the name of the church.

> Many wrote to the English Resident that they wanted to go to the other jurisdiction since their bishop did not give them tranquility. In the seminary at Varapuzha there were only four clerics. Others were dispersed and wandering through the street as they could not exercise any ecclesiastical function. The bishop, leaving Varapuzha, went to another church of fishermen called St. Andrew where now he stays[179].

Thus Fr. Nicolas reported that the seminary at Varapuzha had almost perished and Stabellini formed a small seminary in the church where he lived. Fr. Nicolas held:

> There he erected a seminary and he has already received eight students from the families of fishermen and he has also put one teacher for them; but they do not have the soutane and vestments. He has taken with him all the documents, manuscript books, as well as all the letters and decrees from Rome[180].

The situation at Varapuzha was getting worse. But Stabellini could find a little tranquility in the place where he was living temporarily, for as he wrote:

> The church where I stayed was the richest of all the churches in Malabar, either Latin or Syrian, which belonged to the fishermen. Two priests also lived with me at my expense, one Syrian and one Latin[181].

Sensing the difficulties, he expressed his wish to leave Malabar: "I do not want to disturb the peace of this mission. I have already have my passport, but I have been impeded by the Syrian priests almost a hundred in number"[182].

3.3.3.4. Answer from Rome

On May 8, 1830[183], the Secretary of Propaganda wrote to Stabellini expressing the mind of Rome:

179 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 600v, "Molti scriveranno al residente... per passare sotto altra giurisdizione.... Non vi sono altri nel seminario latino, che 4 seminaristi, gli altri tutti dispersi, e vagando per le strade non potendo fare niuna funzione ecclesiastica. Il vescovo poi partito da Verapoli, si postò in una chiesa di S. Andrea. dove attualmente dimora".

180 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 600v.

181 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 513r.

182 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 513r.

183 APF, *Lettere 311*, ff. 343v-344v. Propaganda gave this answer to Msgr. Stabellini basing their argument on the letter of September 20, 1829, written by the priests and the laymen of Kochi. On the same date Propaganda wrote also to Fr. Mathew Fernandez, the vicar of Kochi. See this letter in APF, *Lettere 311*, ff. 344v-345r. These two letters are given also in APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 513v-514r (*sommario*, nos. 7,8).

> It is necessary to note that this contrariety comes not from superstitious principles and therefore it would be well to take prudence to adapt in a manner more convenient to the circumstances of the places and the inhabitants there[184].

Coming to the real situation, the Congregation wrote: "It would be better that the priest return to Bombay, where he lived peacefully: and the apostolic vicar should desist from those acts which were being demanded to abolish the superstition"[185].

After having received the two letters of Stabellini of August 7 and November 13, 1829, Propaganda wrote again to Stabellini on May 29, 1830[186], and asked him once more to continue with prudence and reasonableness and sent him the copy of the letter which was forwarded to him on May 8, 1830, and a copy of the letter sent to Fr. Fernandez[187]. Then on September 13, 1830, the problem of admitting students from fishermen families was discussed in the General Assembly of Propaganda in the context of the *relazione* of Stabellini as the last point which was added to *dubbio* twelve[188].

3.3.3.5. General Assembly of Propaganda on April 9, 1832

As the last point (17) of the ponenza of September 13, 1830, the question of fishermen was treated in the General Assembly by the cardinals and as *dubbio* 12[189] it

184 APF, *Lettere 311*, 343v, " ... essere necessario, che mentre V.S. adopera accio questa contrarietà non provenga da principi superstiziosi, faccia uso insieme di tutta la prudenza per adattarsi nella maniera la più conveniente alle circostanze dei luoghi, e degli abitanti nei medesimi".

185 APF, *Lettere 311*, f. 343v, "... che il sacerdote indicato ritorni in Bombay, ove fino agli ultimi tempi aveva tranquillamente dimorato; come anche sarà cosa degna dello zelo, e dello spirito di carità, per cui V.S. tanto si distingue, il desistere da quegli atti, che mentre sono richiesti dalla necessità di allontanare la superstizione".

186 See this letter in APF, *Lettere 311*, ff. 400v-401r; also in APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 514r-v (*sommario*, no. 9).

187 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 514r.

188 In the *Note di Archivio*, the archivist wrote that the superstitious prejudices of Malabar were many times taken into discussion in the assemblies of Propaganda. For example, of *pareas*. The archivist says: "such errors were condemned by Pope Benedict XIV in *Omnium sollecitudinem*". See APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 496v-497r.

189 To the *dubbio* 12, *quale istruzione darsi relativamente alla controversia insorta etc.*, the cardinals replied: "Dilata et ad mentem: mens est: quod scribatur Vicario Apostolico Bombay, atque P. Francesco Xaverio a S. Anna, ut certiorent S.C. utrum Vicarii Apostolici praedecessores piscatorum filios ad S. Ordines promoverint: atque praeterea urbanissimae mittantur litterae Praesuli Stabellini, ut ab incepta semita quasi proprio motu suo desistat quoad admissionem piscatorum in seminarium, et quoad eorum

was set aside for further study. Consequently this problem was taken into consideration in the General Assembly of April 9, 1832, as the second point[190]. To get more information on this matter and thereby a clearer picture of the problem, on January 15, 1831, letters were written to Francis Xavier[191], to Alcantara and to Stabellini to give clarifications on the same[192].

3.3.3.5.1. The letter of Francis Xavier[193]

Fr. Francis Xavier, who had much experience in India as a missionary at Carvar, was the best person selected by Propaganda to enquire into this matter and to propose the answers[194]. Two questions were put before him:

> 1. Whether it can be truly judged that the contrariety commonly shown in Malabar towards the persons of the fishermen comes from superstition.
> 2. Whether anybody from the caste of fishermen was already ordained before the actual controversy[195].

promotionem ad statum clericalem, et illos quos in seminario retinet in provinciam Bombay remittat, eique communicetur notitia, quod anno 1778 ad similes removendas contestationes in oris Coromandelianis exortas S.C. decrevit etiam seperationem loci et ingressus in Ecclesiam, et distinctionem sepulcrorum. Reclamantibus denique contra factum R.P.D. Stabellini apertissimis verbis scribatur de necessitate sese abstinendi a quacumque re omnemque opinionem deponendi, quae superstitionem redoleat, atque in epistola animadvertatur, quod etiam ex piscatoribus, si necessariae adhibeantur cautelae optimi seligi possunt sacerdotes". APF, *Acta 195*, f. 145r.

190 The *ponente* was Cardinal Giacomo Filipo Fransoni. The report on the fishermen problem (*Sullo stato della controversia insorta nel Malabar per l'ammissione al seminario di Verapoli, e ordinazione degli individui della stirpe o casta dei pescatori*) is given in APF, *Acta 195*, ff. 145r-147r.

191 In his letter of July 3, 1831 (from Sunkeri) he wrote that he received the letter sent from Propaganda on January 15, 1831. See APF, *SOCG 947*, f. 286r.

192 APF, *Acta 195*, f. 145r. See also APF, *Lettere 312*, ff. 895v-896v.

193 See this letter (*Risposta del P. Francesco Saverio di S. Anna ai questi fatigli dalla S.C. in proposito della ammissione al seminario e ordinazione degli individui della casta dei pescatori in Malabar*) in APF, *Acta 195*, ff. 150r-154v (*sommario*, no. 1); APF, *SOCG 947*, ff. 283r-285v. Together with this letter or report he sent another letter. See APF, *SOCG 947*, ff. 286r-v.

194 He studied the problem, making use of the letters of Fr. Nicolas and of Msgr. Stabellini. See the different letters: APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 598r-v, 599r-601r, 601r-v, 601v-603v, 603v-604v, 604v-605r, 605r-608r, 608r-610v, 611r-v, 612r-613r.

195 APF, *Acta 195*, f. 145r, "1. se veramente possa giudicare che la contrarietà communamente mostrata nel Malabar alle persone della schiatta dei pescatori non nasca da principio superstizioso, 2. se alcuno della casta dei pescatori sia stato ordinato prima dell'attual controversia".

The answer to the first question was divided in three paragraphs[196]. In the first he exposed the sentiments of Stabellini from the pastoral of July 14, 1829, and from his letter of August 1, 1830. In the second paragraph the doctrine of the pagans on caste and in the third answers given to the sentiments of Stabellini[197].

In his report Francis Xavier wrote that the pagans in India did not believe that the distinction of caste had its origin from creation[198], although Stabellini held the contrary view[199]. Confuting Stabellini's idea he held:

> Not all the actions of pagans contain superstition in themselves and the actions which are superstitious are not always identified with the superstition and the one cannot be separated form the other. Therefore, to prove that the belief of the Christians of Malabar is superstitious, it is necessary to prove that the belief of the pagans on that point is superstitious, and that the superstition is inseparable from the belief or at least that the Christians in fact do not separate them[200].

Therefore, Fr. Francis Xavier showed that in the doctrine of the pagans on the distinction of caste there was nothing superstitious or opposed to faith regarding the origin of men[201].

Regarding the second point 'whether anybody from the caste of fishermen was ordained before the controversy', he wrote that he could not say historically or with certainty[202].

196 APF, *Acta 195*, f. 145r.

197 Read these three paragraphs in detail in APF, *SOCG 947*, f. 283r-285v.

198 The description of four castes from *Brahman* should be understood metaphorically. See the details in #2 of the report of Francis Xavier. See APF, *SOCG 947*, ff. 284r-v.

199 APF, *SOCG 947*, f. 283r.

200 APF, *Acta 195*, f. 145v, "Stabilisce per principio che non tutte le azioni dei gentili contengono in se superstizione, che le azioni anche superztiziose non sono sempre così identificate colla superstizione che questa non possa separarsi da quelle. Per poter adunque provare che la credenza dei cristiani malabaresi sia superstizioso sarebbe necessario il provare che la credenza dei gentili su tal punto è superstiziosa che la superstizione è inseparabile dalla credenza, o almeno che i cristiani di fatto non la separano".

201 APF, *Acta 195*, f. 145v.

202 APF, *SOCG 947*, f. 285r, "... io non posso parlarne a modo d'istorico e con certezza".

203 See his answer in APF, *Acta 195*, ff. 154v-155v (*sommario*, no. 2); APF, *SOCG 947*, ff. 287r-288r.

3.3.3.5.2. Answer of Msgr. Peter Alcantara[203]

In his letter of July 26, 1831, Alcantara wrote that although such a contrariety was blameworthy, it did not mean that it came from superstition[204]. He was of the opinion that, during the controversy in order to avoid contempt of the ecclesiastics, not to ordain anybody from the caste of fishermen[205].

3.3.3.5.3. The firm stand of Stabellini[206]

Msgr. Stabellini in his reply[207] repeated what he already had written in his earlier letters. He did not want to send Fr. Pascal back to Bombay since such an act would produce perturbation among the Christians of that caste[208]. He wrote that he felt deeply afflicted by the decision taken by the Congregation as it would not bring peace and tranquility to the mission of Malabar. He did not want to desist from the acts he already performed in favour of the fishermen and he declared he would neither ordain those clerics who had denied the oath nor to admit such in the seminary[209].

Finally, he suggested that in such a controversial situation it would be necessary that his judgement should be a half-way measure that would neither grant nor deny all to the Christians of that caste[210]. For the mature consideration of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide he put forward a proposal in support of both sides as follows:

204 APF, *Acta 195*, f. 146r, "Quindi quantunque tal contrarietà sia per lui biasimevole non può dirsi pero nascere da principio superstizioso".

205 See his idea in detail in APF, *SOCG 947*, f. 287v. See also APF, *lettere 313*, ff. 539v-540r.

206 Note his reply in APF, *Acta 195*, ff. 155v-157r (*sommario*, no. 3); APF, *SOCG 947*, ff. 289r-292v.

207 *Risposta di Monsig. Maurilio Stabellini vescovo di Dolica vicario apostolico del Malabar alla intimazione datagli intorno all'ammissione al seminario e ordinazione degli individui della casta dei pescatori data dal Malabar 1. Settembre 1831.* Together with his reply, he enclosed 'a letter fishermen from some parishes wrote to the apostolic vicar' for the information of Propaganda. This is a letter in support of the view of Stabellini. This letter is given as *sommario*, no. 4 of the Acta. See the text in APF, *Acta 195*, ff. 157v-158r.

208 APF, *Acta 195*, f. 146v. In his letter of February 20, 1831, he had already expressed his wish not to send Fr. Pascal back to Bomaby. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 651r (letter of Msgr. Stabellini of February 20, 1831, to the Prefect of Propaganda).

209 See APF, *SOCG 947*, ff. 289v-290r.

210 See APF, *SOCG 947*, f. 290v.

> To admit a small limited number of students of fishermen, for example, five or six, to the ecclesiastical state. They should not be admitted to the seminary of Varapuzha to avoid disputes and should not be employed in their churches or in those of the fishermen, or where they are in majority, or where they are a minority but have an equal number of votes in the temporal affairs of the church. They should not be admitted in the other Latin churches unless with the consensus of the people. This method should be observed till the total extinction of the present contrariety[211].

Taking Stabellini's plan, the cardinal *ponente* put forward for the consideration of the cardinals of the General Assembly the *dubbio*: what definite judgement should be made in regard to the controversy or should the plan of Stabellini be accepted[212].

3.3.3.6. Gradual extinction

The timely transfer of Stabellini from the office of apostolic vicar of Malabar and the appointment of the experienced and prudent Francis Xavier in his place calmed the controversy and it gradually died out[213]. Francis Xavier, after his appointment as apostolic vicar, wrote:

> Now the mission of Malabar is quiet as it was 60 years ago. All the Syrians as well as the Latins are content as I have not followed the steps of Stabellini. Although there are some murmurings with regard to the procedings of Stabeliini and of Propaganda, the majority were quiet[214].

211 APF, *Acta 195*, ff. 156v-157r, "Si conceda dunque che un piccolo limitato numero dei figli dei pescatori, come sarebbe per esempio cinque o sei, siano ammesi allo stato ecclesiastico, senza potersi ammettere altri se non mancando alcuno di questo limitato numero; si neghi però ad essi d' entrata nel seminario di Verapoli per evitarsi dispute inutili e perniciose fra giovani di diversi caste; e cosi pure questi tali ecclesiastici non siano impiegati se non o nelle chiese che appertengono a quelli delli casta dei pescatori, o in quelle dove gl'individui della casta dei piscatori sono in maggior numero, o in quelle dove li cristiani della indicata casta sono in minor numero è vero ma hanno un egual voto negli affari temporali della chiesa come gli individui delle altre caste. Nelle altre chiese latine però non potranno deti ecclesiastici essere impiegati, se non previo il consenso del popolo di dette chiese. In fine questo metodo si dovra osservare sino alla totale estinzione della presente contrarietà".

212 APF, *Acta 195*, f. 147r.

213 See the letters of Msgr. Francis Xavier regarding the same: APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 87r-90v (letter of December 18, 1832), 309r-311v (letter of July 6, 1834), 313r-314r (letter of July 13, 1834), 151r-154r (letter of September 16, 1833), 396r-397r (letter of October 31, 1834), 718r-720v (letter of May 12, 1836). See the letters of Msgr. Alcantara: APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 1r-v (letter of January 3, 1832), 2r-v (letter of December 7, 1831), 98r-99r (letter of January 31, 1833), 136r-137r (letter of July 24, 1833), 146r-v (letter of August 28, 1833), 290r-293r (letter of March 29, 1834). See also APF, *Lettere 313*, ff. 502v-503r.

214 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 87r (letter of Francis Xavier of December 18, 1832).

With regard to the admission of fishermen in the seminary, although some expected a favourable attitude from Rome, slowly they too became calm[215]. Fr. Pascal, warned by Francis Xavier to return to Bombay, did not obey; the other priest already returned to Bombay[216]. According to the instruction from Rome[217] Francis Xavier showed his readiness to admit some students from the family of fishermen to ecclesiastical orders; however, the families of fishermen were not ready and could not meet the expenses necessary for their studies. Moreover, the parents did not want their children be sent to Bombay, as according to the instruction, they could not be admitted in the seminary at Varapuzha[218]. Francis Xavier wrote that three points brought a tranquil ending to this problem. They were:

> 1. The common aversion of fishermen to Fr. Pascal[219], 2. a total pecuniary decadence of some fishermen who were the principal advocates of this controversy, 3. the poverty of the fishermen due to the long delay in fishing[220].

3.4. The life in the missions and of the missionaries

In the life of the church the witness given by the superiors in the practice of the Christian faith and its principles is very important. It is all the more important in missionary work, where for the believers religion is what they practise. The frequent transfer of apostolic vicars, the disunity among the missionaries as well as the insincerity in the administration of church temporals negatively affected the life of the Church.

215 See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 87r.

216 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 87v.

217 On June 2, 1832, Propaganda sent a letter to Francis Xavier with instructions as to how to proceed with the fishermen controversy. See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 87r. Msgr. Alcantara too received a copy of the instruction sent to Francis Xavier. See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 98r. He also expressed satisfaction with regard to the instruction given by Propaganda.

218 See APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 87r-v.

219 Fr. Pascal was suspended from ecclesiastical duties by the apostolic vicar. See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 151r (letter of Francis Xavier to Propaganda on September 16, 1833).

220 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 309v (letter of Francis Xavier on July 13, 1834).

3.4.1. Varapuzha, the centre of the vicariate

The residence of the apostolic vicar was at the very small island of Varapuzha[221], where he had neither a cathedral nor a proper church. In the mission of Malabar, there was no formal convent[222]. Because of the lack of a proper abode the apostolic vicar resided in an hospice of the Discalced Carmelites at Varapuzha, belonging not to any particular nation, but to the Congregation of the Discalced Carmelites of Italy in general[223]. Varapuzha always served as the centre of the missions[224].

The observance of enclosure of any kind was lacking in the Carmelite house at Varapuzha[225]. Although the apostolic vicar of Malabar had been informed by a letter of October 6, 1790, of the Congregation, the enclosure was not yet observed[226]. As answer to the question of the apostolic vicar as to why enclosure had not been observed and whether or not it was possible, the vicar general answered:

> Enclosure was never observed in the house of Malabar and, if it would now be started, the Malabarians would think that the reason of this novelty would be some disorder happened, and it would affect the good name of the religious[227].

3.4.2. The finance of the missions

In many of the letters either of the apostolic vicar or of the missionaries we always find requests for money to be sent to the poor mission of Varapuzha. In the

221 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 497r. This is given as answer to question no. 49 which reads as follows: "Ubi resideant, quibus superioribus subsint, et quot habeant domos". The apostolic vicar was called bishop *in partibus*. Varapuzha was three leagues distant from Kochi. The extract of a letter (dated January 22, 1822) written by Msgr. Poynter, apostolic vicar of London, to Robert Gnadwell witnesses the same: "Msgr. Prendergast risiede vicino a Coccino in un luogo chiamato Verapoli". APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 467r.

222 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 859v.

223 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 859v.

224 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 497r.

225 It was as answer to the question no. 50.

226 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 480v. The Congregation had recommended: "interno dell'abitazione dei religiosi, e specialmente nelle loro stanze dovrebe la clausura osservarsi rigorosamente, poiché altrimenti ne potranno succedere dei scandali gravissimi". APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 859v.

227 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 480v, "... che, mai essendosi qui osservata la clausura, se se ne inculcasse adesso l'osservanza, si penserebbe da questi Malabari, che la causa di questa novità, sara stato qualche disordine accaduto, il che ridonderebbe in pregiudizio del buon nome delli religiosi".

relazione which Msgr. Stabellini prepared, as answer to the no. 18[228], he wrote that the apostolic vicar had no proper revenue, except a small house at Kochi which was giving three scudi monthly, but presently that too was not forthcoming[229]. Regarding the same he wrote:

> This house at Kochi, which was in a ruinous state, now needs repair; that too needs much money. And a great amount is in debt due to the building of the new house at Varapuza. Presently the only means of sustenance is the house of Varapuzha[230].

As answer to no. 19[231], the apostolic vicar in his *relazione* revealed that the apostolic vicar was in a state of poverty due to the debts which burdened the house of Varapuzha and the hospice of the Carmelites[232]. The apostolic vicar used to receive from the Congregation of Propaganda Fide 200 scudi annually (besides the 400 for the seminary and 60 for the two teachers) and 80 scudi for wine and hosts. But since he was not receiving anything for many years, he added, that the mission was in decadence. In such a situation, he found that:

> The stipend which he receives for the Masses celebrated in weekdays is being utilized for the expenses of his food; for other expenses such as for his clothing, to pay the interpreter of the Malabar language, for writing letters in Malayalam and for other expenses which are very necessary, he takes a part from the rent of the house and a part from the half of the revenue of the money put in the treasury of the English East India Company, which was destined for pious works (as is in no.7)[233].

228 No. 18 of the questionnaire reads thus: *An habeat reditus proprios, quot, et in quo constitunt.* APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 853v.

229 Fr. Prosper in his letter of June 10, 1820, which he wrote from Brazil, explained the financial situation of Varapuzha. See this letter in APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 193r-201r.

230 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 856v. Msgr. Prendergast in his letter of July 5, 1822, to the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide mentioned the same. See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v.

231 No. 19 of the questionnaire is: *An habeat subsidium annuum a Sacra Congregatione, et in qua summa.* APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 853v.

232 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 479v.

233 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 857r, "... perché il vicario apostolico pel vitto applica le Messe nei giorni feriali per la casa di Verapoli; e per altre spese di vestito, interprete per la lingua del Malabar, scrittura di lettere in Malabar, ed ogn'altra spesa a lui necessaria, in parte si prende dagl'affitti della sudetta casa, e in parte dalla metà di frutti del danaro posto nel Tesoro della Compagnia Inglese destinati ad opere pie".

So he requested the Congregation to give the necessary instruction according to which he could continue his activities[234]. Fr. Prosper too referred to the sum received annually from the English East India Company: 1220 Rupees per annum or 540 scudi[235].

Msgr. Prendergast in the letter of July 5, 1822, mentioned that the apostolic vicar, the missionaries, the church, the catechumenate, the poor, etc. needed money. What he received from the intentions of the Holy Masses, from the income gained in the selling of rice and coconuts was very little[236]. The building of new churches and cemeteries too cost much money[237].

After describing the pathetic financial situation of the mission of Varapuzha, Msgr. Stabellini asked for financial help from the Congregation since much money was needed not only for poor people but also for the poor churches[238]. Msgr. Francis Xavier in his letter of May 12, 1836, described well the financial situation of the apostolic vicariate. According to him the revenue[239] was very little compared to the expenses. So he also requested the Congregation to provide a sudden help[240].

234 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 479v.

235 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 76v (letter of Fr. Prosper to the General of the Carmelites, dated September 30, 1814). He wrote that the amount was 540 scudi, i.e., for the seminary (400), for the two teachers (60) and for the wine and hosts (80).

236 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 363r.

237 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v.

238 Propaganda took into consideration the explanation of Stabellini with regard to the debts and the need for money on the part of the mission of Malabar and consequently the Secretary of the Congregation wrote: "Al numero 19. della sua relazione Monsig. Stabellini espone quale sia lo stato di ristrettezze in cui il Vicario Apostolico del Malabar si trova, e fa conoscere esservi alcuni debiti, i quali si fanno passare a di lui carico, sebbene sembri asaai più verisimile, che i debiti medesimi debbaano piuttosto essere a carico della casa o sia Ospizio dei PP. Carmelitani esistente in Verapoli.... Il Vicario Apostolico però richiede sull'affare le necessarie istruzioni". The Secretary of Propaganda Fide answered that by that time the Congregation had sent 1000 scudi to the apostolic vicar, which he forgot to mention in the letter of December 30, 1828. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 479v.

The Acta of the General Assembly also mentioned: "Inoltre quantunque gli assegnamenti indicati, annualmente non si siano pagati dopo le vicende, nonostante molto denaro anche dopo quell'epoca si è impiegato per la missione del Malabar: Nel corso degli ultimi dieci anni, cio è dal 1821 al 1830 si sono pagati alla Compagnia delle Indie scudi 10370 prestati ai missionari, durante le vicende: Inoltre negli anni dopo la Republica a questa parte si sono spesi in vari sussidi per il Malabar altri scudi 6310". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 479v.

239 See the details on the revenues in APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 719r.

240 "... di un pronto e considerabile sussidio". For the financial circumstances of the house of Varapuzha see APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 719r-v. In his request for financial help Msgr. Francis Xavier mentioned the church of

3.4.2.1. Complaints against Fr. Prosper with regard to the administration of money

Among the many complaints against Fr. Prosper, there was a complaint also with regard to the administration of money[241] belonging to the apsotolic vicariate of Malabar. Msgr. Stabellini, writing to Rome with regard to the financial situation of Varapuzha, informed the Congregation that out of the 2400 scudi which they received from the Congregation on December 20, 1804, for the building of a church, Fr. Prosper, the then administrator of money, gave 1320 scudi[242] to a certain person at interest, and was then litigating in court to get that money back[243].

In addition, Fr. Prosper once received from a certain priest, who was going to die, the sum of 280 scudi with the obligation of paying the interest. Regarding the same Msgr. Stabellini commented:

> I do not know how it became an account of the bishop, since Msgr. Raimond said that such an amount had not been received, but it was certain that Msgr. Prendergast had paid 28 scudi to the family of that priest. For the rest of the money, the family told the bishop to maintain a seminarian from their family, paying monthly twelve and a half paoli[244].

Accordingly, since the seminarian had to be paid by the bishop and as there was no other source, he was always being paid from the interest of the fund from the

Chatiath which needed repair, which cost much money. This church, as he wrote, was built by the Carmelites with their own money. See his words: "fu fabbricata dai nostri missionari con denaro portato da Roma, senza che quel popolo abbia concorso alla spesa: onde fin al di d'oggi fu sempre tenuta come nostra propria". APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 720r.

241 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 525v.

242 The rest Fr. Prosper spent for various things. Msgr. Prendergast too wrote about the same. See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v.

243 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 498r. Question no. 19 of the *relazione* tells: "In prima istanza si vinse la lite, ma il Taglietti appellò, e benché dicasi che il decreto contro lo stesso sta per sortire, con tutto ancora non è sortito; e se si perdesse la lite, oltre il danaro perduto, vi sarebbero di più le spese della Corte che monteranno ad un somma considerabile".

244 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 498r, "Io non so come questo sia stato posto a conto del vescovo, perché il fu Monsignor Raimondo disse di non aver ricevuto questo denaro, ma il certo si è che Monsig. Prendergast pagò circa 28 scudi alla famiglia del sudetto prete, la quale lasciò uno scritto di rilascio del rimanente coll'obligo di educarsi nel seminario un chierico della loro famiglia, pagandogli mensualmente dodici paoli e mezzo sino che sarà sacerdote".

treasury of the English East India Company[245]. Msgr. Stabellini resisted this payment saying that the bishop was not obliged to give the amount.

A deposit from one of the churches (383 scudi) in the vicariate, conserved in the room of the apostolic vicar, was found lost during the time of Fr. Prosper. Just before his departure to Bombay Fr. Prosper acknowledged that the amount had been taken from the deposit and had been utilized for the affairs of the house of the Carmelites[246]. Prendergast too wrote that Prosper received money from a Syrian named Mathu with the interest of 9 per 100 and from the church of Rapolim [Edappally] 3700 Rupees with the interest of 6 per 100. Later he found it difficult to pay back the sum[247].

3.4.3. The change of jurisdictions

Msgr. Stabellini answered the question no. 22 regarding the exercise of the jurisdiction. The bishop of Kochi and the archbishop of Kodungalloor wanted to recuperatre the jurisdiction in those places which at that time were subject to the apostolic vicar of Malabar. This always raised controversies between the ordinaries of Kochi and Kodungalloor and the apostolic vicar[248]. for these ordinaries considered the apostolic vicar an unjust holder of their churches. Msgr. Stabellini held that in the recent briefs which the Holy Father sent to the archbishop of Kodungalloor and to the bishop of Kochi, no exception was made in the exercise of their jurisdiction[249]. The

245 Msgr. Stabellini was of the certain opinion that Fr. Prosper received this money from the family.

246 This amount also was to be paid back. Msgr. Prendergast paid back half; the other half was to be paid back by Msgr. Stabellini.

With the intention of getting money to pay the debts Msgr. Stabellini made a journey to Madras. Regarding the same he wrote: "Io coll'intento di poter almeno in parte estinguer questi debiti intrapresi il viaggio per Madrast, come gia ne avvisai questa Sacra Congregazione, ma altro non acquistai se non una mortale malatia in Pondicherry, che m' impedí di proseguire il viaggio a Madrast, e così colla semplice offerta di scudi 50 di un Armeno di Madrast, e di altri scudi 50 del governo ecclesiastico del vescovato di Meliapur mio amico, ritornai a Verapoli, e fatti i conti la spesa fu maggiore dell'entrata, e restano li conti di questo vicariato apostolico peggio di prima". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 498v. So he wrote to Propaganda requesting some money to pay back the debts, and asking the Congregation to continue to grant the subsidies.

247 APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 556v-557r.

248 See the origin and the question of the jurisdictions in chapter 2, pp. 137-142.

249 See chapter 2, footnote 324.

people and the clergy had been given orders to obey the apostolic vicar himself. Msgr. Stabellini wrote:

> Therefore, it is incompatible with the power that the clergy and the people obey the apostolic vicar, especially at this time since it is for the people to decide to give obedience to their respective ordinaries or to the apostolic vicar, because the government always let the people have their will[250]

He asked the Congregation for the necessary instructions by which he could proceed[251]

After studying all the previous documents regarding the same, the Congregation gave Stabellini the instruction that the apostolic vicar enjoy jurisdiction in the places which were once subject to the ordinaries of Kochi and Kodungalloor since these ordinaries were impeded from the exercise of their authority[252]. Narrating the actual situation in the Church of Malabar and the consequences resulting from the controversies, Stabellini wrote:

> To remedy all collision in these missions it is necessary that the leaders, i.e., the bishop of Kochi, the archbishop of Kodungalloor and the apostolic vicar be united in sentiment and have good harmony between them. On the basis of jurisdiction there always arise controversies when the apostolic vicar denies to his subjects something which the ordinaries grant to their subjects. For example, the apostolic vicar prohibited some of the pagan plays which were conducted during the feasts; but the ecclesiastical governor permitted them. In the apostolic vicariate marriage was prohibited between the Syrian Catholics and the schismatics; but the ecclesiastical governor permitted it too. Then how is the progress of the religion possible when the leaders are disunited?[253]

250 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 498v, "...il che sembra incompatibile col potere il detto clero, e Popolo o porzione di esso ubbidire al vicario apostolico, in questo tempo specialmente, in cui sembra dipendere onninamente dal popolo l'ubbidire o al Vicario Apostolico o ai loro respetivi Ordinarii, perche il governo si riferisce sempre alla volontà del popolo".

251 He then referred to the clause in the letter, dated January 3, 1724, of the Congregation regarding the rules to be followed with regard to the jurisdictions and also to that of May 18, 1754 (which speak about the impediments placed to the ordinaries in the exercise of their jurisdiction). See APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 498v-499r.

He wanted such an instruction for reason given in Acta as: "sempre hanno nella bocca gli Ordinarii, cio che i vicari apostolici sono obligati a togliere gl'impedimenti, pretendendo forse che il vicario apostolico facesse representazioni al governo in loro favore. Quest' affare rende sopramodo dubbiosi li vicari apostolici, e perturbata la loro coscienza, molto più che il più delle volte per trattare il popolo di mutar giurisdizione, basta che il loro prelato ordini una cosa che non è secondo il loro genio...". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 499r.

252 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 858r.

253 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 861v, "Dirò ancora per rimediare ad ogni sconcerto di queste missioni converrebbe che li capi di Esse, cio è gli Ordinari di Cranganore e Coccino e il Vicario Apostolico fosser uniti di sentimenti, e passasse buona armonià tra di essi. Ma oltre che per motilo di giurisdizione sempre insorgono controversie come ho notato al numero 22, se il Vicario Apostolico proibisce ai Cristiani suoi sudditi

3.4.3.1. The instances of the churches of Mattancherry and Vaipin.

Some of the families of the parish of Mattancherry under the bishop of Kochi for many years were living in the territory of the parish of Vaipin. Before departing to Madras Msgr. Stabellini gave the order that these families should recognize the church of Vaipin as their parish church, intimating that the parish priest of Mattancherry was not to surpass the limits of his parish in the administration of the sacraments. When the apostolic vicar left for Madras, however, the parishoners of Mattancherry came to the vicar general of the apostolic vicar for the execution of the order. As the vicar general did not heed it, they went to the ecclesiastical governor of Kochi and he accepted them and the change of the parish was confirmed by the government of Madras[254].

Msgr. Prendergast described another similar instance in one of his letters, i.e., the parishoners of Vaipin (under the jurisdiction of the apostolic vicar) wrote to Rome expressing their wish to go over to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Kodungalloor[255]. During the time of Stabellini, owing to the fishermen controversy all the Latin parishes under the apostolic vicariate of Malabar wanted to go over to the diocese of Kochi under the jurisdiction of Padroado[256]. The change of parishes and the disputes between the jurisdictions for the parishes were phenomena not seldom occurring in the Church of Malabar.

qualche cosa come illecita, gli Ordinari la concedono ai suoi, ch' è cio, che fa la più ammirazione. Per esempio.... Di questo modo qual aumento della religione puó sperarsi, quando li capi di essa sono disuniti?"

254 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 499r.

255 See the details in APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 44v.

256 When many of the Latin parishes expressed such an idea, Msgr. Stabellini although first denied, later favoured the change as he found that his stand would not succeed. He too wrote once to the English Resident to give all the Latin churches of the apostolic vicariate of Malabar to the diocese of Kochi. Msgr. Francis Xavier later made a long study on this subject. See the details of this problem in APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 90r (letter of Francis Xavier of December 18, 1832); APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 599r (letter of Fr. Nicolas to Francis Xavier), 603v; APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 604v (letter of Msgr. Stabellini to Francis Xavier), 608v-609v; APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 718v (letter of Francis Xavier to the Prefect of Propaganda).

3.4.4. The missionaries in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar

The major section of the Church of Malabar was led by the missionaries of the Discalced Carmelites under the apostolic vicariate of Malabar[257]. Besides the apostolic vicar, who had the title of the bishop (*episcopus in partibus)*, there were sometimes more missionaries and sometimes only one[258]. At the time Msgr. Stabellini was preparing the *relazione* there was only one missionary in the mission of Malabar (in 1829)[259], Fr. Nicolas, who had the care of the house of Varapuzha. He was the vicar general of the apostolic vicar and was also in charge of three parishes. As answer to question no. 51[260] Stabellini reported that there was no meaning in the 'common life' and the 'regular observance' in the mission of Malabar at that time since there was only one missionary[261].

The missionaries were always sent directly from the Congregation of Propaganda Fide to the mission of Malabar[262]. Stabellini held:

> In the past these missionaries received from Propaganda 50 scudi per annum; but now they receive nothing. The only missionary who now stays at Varapuzha receives food and clothing from the house of Varapuzha and at present he is the administrator of the temporal goods of the house[263].

With regard to the superiors of these missionaries Stabellini wrote:

257 The apostolic vicars of our period in study were named in chapter 2.

258 We have already seen in chapter 2 that for some years there was only one missionary in the vast territory of Malabar.

259 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 860r.

260 The question no. 51 reads as follows: *An in communi vivant, et cum regulari obseravantia, vel habitent soli, et in domibus privatis cum saecularibus, et praecipue cum mulieribus*. APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 854r.

261 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 501r. Accordingly, Msgr. Stabellini concluded that he had nothing to respond to the question. But he wanted to say that Fr. Nicolas was at Varapuzha in the house of the Carmelites and never lived in the house of the seculars or with women.

262 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 500v, "... sono stati direttamente spediti da questa Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda".

263 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 859v, "Nel tempo passato questi missionari erano mantenuti a spese di detta Sagra Congregazione, che annualmente passavaa ciascuno di essi cinquanta scudi; ma presentamente niente si riceve, per cui detto missionario riceve il solo vitto, e vestito da questa casa di Verapoli, delli di cui Beni stabili e mobili egli è il amministratore".

> As missionary and vicar general he [Fr. Nicolas] depends on the apostolic vicar in all that pertains to the care of souls; he as a religious has no superior in India, but depends immediately on the Propositor General of the Carmelites of Italy residing in Rome[264].

3.4.4.1. Their life-style

The missionaries wore the habit of the Carmelite Order[265], although due to the hot climate they were using cotton clothes. Stabellini explains:

> The missionaries, thus also I, use the habit of the religious. Because of the hot climate of the land[266], the missionaries always use cotton clothes; I am wearing woollen clothes. At present the use of the white mantle has been totally abolished in Malabar[267].

Malayalam, the language of the land, was not easy for all the missionaries; some could manage with the language and others found it difficult. Fr. Nicolas, the only missionary for a long period in Malabar, could sufficiently understand the language of Malabar, but he could not be understood by others because of the difficulty of pronunciation[268]. Stabellini, as he held, got very little time to study the language, because of the multiplicity of the affairs and due to the lack of memory[269]. He informed the Congregation that in those places near to the sea Portuguese and Dutch were used at times, as well as some English, but in the remaining places either Malayalam or Tamil were being spoken[270].

264 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 500v.

265 See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 106r (letter of Msgr. Peter Alcantara to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, dated August 26, 1826).

266 Msgr. Alcantara, after the visit of the mission of Malabar while writing to the Prefect of Propaganda, mentioned the same. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 106r.

267 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 501r, "Questo missionario, così,come io stesso, usiamo l'abito della religione; a motivo però del gran caldo di questi paesi da missionari si è quasi sempre usato della tela di cottone, ancorché io ordinariamente usi del panno di lana, il che ha procurato di fare questo missionario, ma sembra propriamente, che gli sia impossibile. Presentemente l'uso della cappa bianca sembra in questa missione totalmente abolito".

268 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 860r. Letter of Msgr. Alcantara (dated March 28, 1821) also witnesses the same. See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 354r.

269 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 501r. In his letter dated February 25, 1828, he wrote: "Tanto più ch' io non so la lingua, benché dissi abbia cominciato a studiarla, ma con poca speranza di riuscirne.... Il non sapere poi la lingua del paese è una somma infelicità per un vescovo". APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 499v.

270 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 501r. Consequently it was not easy for him to communicate even with the Syrian priests. Note his words: "Almeno potessi parlare senza interprete coi sacerdoti, cio è coi sacerdoti Latini, ma non coi sacerdoti Siro-Caldei". APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 499v.

3.4.4.2. The apostolic vicar should be a Discalced Carmelite

Msgr. Stabellini wrote to the Congregation that the apostolic vicar of Malabar should always be a Discalced Carmelite[271]. Against the general rule, the Calced Prendergast had been appointed in Malabar, because of the scarcity of the missionaries; and it was an extraordinary measure used by Propaganda, taking into consideration the need of the time[272]. Msgr. Stabellini wanted the mission of Malabar to be with the Discalced Carmelites, otherwise there would never be peace in the mission[273]. As reason for this he held: "all the time when I had to warn Fr. Nicolas as obliged by my office, it ended in quarrels and he told me that I do not love the habit of the Discalced order"[274].

Although Stabellini was a Calced Carmelite, he took the profession of a Discalced Carmelite as he had to work with that order[275]. He found that although he did this, Fr. Nicolas did not obey him as Nicolas considered him as one who did not love

271 From the year 1701 till 1818 this apostolic vicariate was governed by bishops from the order of the Discalced Carmelites of Germany and Italy. From 1818 onwards Prendergast, a Calced Carmelite of the province of Ireland, was the apostolic vicar. APF, *Acta 193*, f. 497v.

272 The reason of electing a Calced Carmelite in the person of Prendergast as the apostolic vicar of Malabar is mentioned in the brief of September 17, 1818, by Pope Pius VII: "Cum idem ordo (Excalceatorum) ob paucitatem Religiosorum neminem in praesentiarum suppeditare possit, cui eiusmodi munus committatur, ne interim Christianus Populus illarum Regionum Spirituali Rectore destitutus diutius remaneat, Te Vicarium Apostolicum predictae Provinciae Serrae Malabarium cum solitis facultatibus ad nostrum et Sedis Apostolicae beneplacitum constituimus".

273 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 861v.

274 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 502v, "Perché tutte le volte che io ho dovuto, obligato dal mio offizio dire a fare qualche cosa che non andava a genio del presente P. Nicola, sempre sono insorte delle liti, e non ha mancato dirmi che io non amo l'abito della religione scalza. ... se Monsig. Prendergast fosse stato carmelitano scalzo, ed in consequenza se il missionario presente, che fu il solo cheseco lui convisse, fosse stato suo amico, non sarebbero gli affari di detto Monsignore arrivati a quel termine che sono arrivati, e la cosa forse si poteva molto ben concretare senza che li lamenti contro lo stesso fossero stati portati a Roma".

Msgr. Stabellini in a letter or June 16, 1830, wrote against Fr. Nicolas to the Propositor General of the Carmelites. See this letter in APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 619r-620v.

275 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 313v, "Qui è da notarsi, che questo Monsig. Stabellini originariamente Carmelitano Calzato, quando gia era vescovo, e governava ad interim il Malabar per dispensa del Papa fece solenne professione fra noi scalzi".

the habit of the Discalced Order. Msgr. Stabellini held that Fr. Nicolas acted the same towards Msgr. Prendergast. So at the end of the *relazione* Stabellini expressed his desire to return to Italy and to live in a convent of the Carmelites of the province of Lombardy[276]. He also wanted Fr. Nicolas, a Discalced Carmelite to be the vicar in the mission of Malabar, a desire he expressed in his letter dated August 7, 1829, to the Congregation. In the letter he mentioned:

> In the circumstance of his departure from Malabar he wanted to see that Fr. Nicolas be left in the post of vicar general, till the Sacred Congregation assigned the post to Fr. Francis Xavier, which would be an excellent election[277].

As the Discalced Carmelite missionaries worked in the mission of Malabar, Stabellinis's view that the apostolic vicar should always be of that order was a timely one, considering the necesity of tranquility in the mission life.

3.4.4.3. The activities of Msgr. Prendergast

Msgr. Prendergast, who ruled the Malabar Church as the apostolic vicar from the years 1821 till 1827, deserves special mention with regard to his activities in the vicariate. He did much for the betterment of the clergy and the faithful[278]. Although his

276 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 481v. The reason why he made such a decision is: "Perché sebbene egli già vescovo coadjutore di Monsig. Vicario Apostolico di Bombay, sia passato nel 1827 per facoltà concessagli da Leone XII dall'ordine dei Padri Carmelitani Calzati, a quello della riforma, nonostante si avvede che non potra mai incontrare il genio dei Carmelitani educati nella riforma medesima".

Before returning to Italy he wanted to remain at Bombay, awaiting the reply from the Congregation to see what would come in the near future. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 503r.

277 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 482r, "Che nella circostanza della sua partenza sarà per lasciare in vicario il lodato P. Nicola di Gesù Maria sino a che la Sacra Congregazione avrà provveduto la missione di vicario apostolico, il che se fosse nella persona del R.P. Francesco Saverio, missionario in Sunkeri, sarebbe eccellente elezione".

In the *relazione* he wrote: "frattanto lascierò in vicario generale lo stesso P. Nicola di Gesù Maria delli di cui costumi niente ho che dire, come già ho notato al numero 61, il quale lasciero munito di tutte le mie facoltà communicabili per amministrare questa missione, sino che questa S. C. l'avrà provveduta di vicario apostolico". APF, *Acta 193*, f. 503v.

278 See his letters which explain the same: letter of November 1, 1822, to the Prefect of Propaganda (APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 581r-v), letter of January 6, 1823, to the Prefect of Propaganda (APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 609r-v), letter of July 5, 1822, to the Prefect of Propaganda (APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 556r-557r), letter of April 12, 1821, to the Prefect of Propaganda (APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 362r-363r), letter of June 7, 1821, to William Pereire, the

character and behaviour were not appreciated[279] by the faithful, he was well appreciated by his superiors in regard to his pastoral view and in missionary activities. Soon after the taking charge of the office of the apostolic vicar he wrote to William Pereire, the Secretary of the Orthodox Society of Madras, mentioning the state of his Church[280]. After describing the extension of the Church he narrated the new regulations[281] which he wanted to introduce in his apostolic vicariate of Malabar. He made it a rule that all the priests should wear clerical dress, and no priest should leave the house, not even at night, without special permission of the bishop. The priests should not hear confessions outside the public confessionals. The priests should explain the gospel every Sunday—omission of three Sundays became a reserved case. All should show great reverence to the Holy Sacrament. He founded parish schools and prohibited the childern from attending Protestant schools. He banned the Bible in local languages without the notes of the Fathers. In addition, he ordered registers of baptism, marriage and death be kept, and forbade some traditional customs during the feasts and the sacred days[282].

He wanted the cemeteries[283] to be kept separate and the vessels of sacred oil be be of silver. He reformed the colleges, making necessary daily conferences, weekly examinations, and general examinations every three months. He ordered the priests to punish every wicked person not only with severe reproaches but with corporal punishment and monetary penalty, and all types of superstition abolished in the administration of the sacraments, conforming exactly to the Roman rituals[284]. He orderd that all

Secretary of the Orthodox Society of Madras (APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 383v-385r) and letter of June 8, 1825 (APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 159r-160r). See also the answers given to his letters from Propaganda: APF, *Lettere 303*, ff. 45v-46v; APF, *Lettere 304*, ff. 768r-v; APF, *Lettere 305*, f. 473r; APF, *Lettere 307*, f. 47v.

279 More on his character and behaviour is found in chapter 2, pp. 103-105.

280 His letter to William Pereire, the Secretary of the Orthodox Society of Madras, written on June 7, 1821, is given in APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 383v-385v.

281 He asked William Pereire to inform Msgr. Poynter, the apostolic vicar of London, of the new regulations which he wanted to introduce in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar. He wrote: "Siccome voi siete interessato nei regolamenti che vi ho introdotti, ve ne daro sfogo, pregandovi di informare Monsig. Poynter, mio stimatissimo amico di tutti questi particolari, e di mandargli l'inchiusa lettera, che ho indirrizato a lui". APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 383v-384r.

282 See APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 384r-v.

283 For more details on the cemeteries see APF *SC IO 4*, ff. 160r-v (letter of Msgr. Prendergast of June 8, 1825).

284 His addiction to the Roman rituals or the Latin practices moved him to enforce the study of the canons of the Synod of Udayamperoor (Diamper) on the priests and the faithful. See his insistence on the study of

vicars and priests should come to the college once in a month to make a general confession and to be instructed and examined by him. He wanted to build new churches. He distributed a long pastoral letter which was of use to the priests as a compendium of theology. He also made another compendium of Sacred Scripture, Tradition, Councils, Fathers, Church, Church History and Canon Law[285].

He many times wrote against the Nestorians and the Missionaries of the Bible[286]. In one of the letters to the Prefect of Propaganda he wrote that he separated the Syrian Catholics from the Syrian schismatics, seeing the danger of the close proximity of the Catholics and the schismatics[287]. He made regulations also regarding the administration of church properties and the construction of baptistries[288].

3.4.4.4. The life of the Church during Msgr. Stabellini

Although Msgr. Stabellini was appointed apostolic vicar to repair the difficult situation brought forth by the bad example of Msgr. Prendergast, he was not free from complaints. The problem of admission of children from the families of fishermen into the seminary of Varapuzha made the situation worse. Because his views and ideas were not supported by the faithful, he was ridiculed by a group of the faithful and clerics. Fr. Nicolas, the then only missionary and his vicar general, was also against him. The many documents written with regard to this problem show the discord between Stabellini and Fr. Nicolas[289]. Even after his removal from the office of apostolic vicar

the canons of this synod in APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 45r (letter of Prendergast to the Prefect of Propaganda, dated July 24, 1824), 160r (letter of Prendergast to the Prefect of Propaganda, dated June 8, 1825).

285 See APF, *SC IO 3*. ff. 384v-385r. At the end of these regulations he writes: "If these regulations were not approved by Msgr. Poynter, I would revoke them. Please do me a favour to communicate all these to the prelate so that he might make an opinion". APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 385r.

286 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556r.

287 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 581r.

288 See APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 159r-160r.

289 This might be a reason why Stabellini wrote against Fr. Nicolas in his report of July 1, 1829, to the Congregation. Fr. Nicolas in his many letters to Francis Xavier and to Alcantara showed clearly the ill-will that existed between them. See APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 599v- 600r, 604r; APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 290r.

when he was at Goa and at Bombay, Stabellini wrote many times to the leaders of the fishermen controversy and created further problems[290]. Letters of Nicolas and Francis Xavier during and after this problem showed that Msgr. Stabellini destroyed the Malabar Church. These problems served to affect the life of the Church very negatively and this brought the faithful to have little confidence and trust in Church authorities[291].

3.4.4.5. Malabar Church under Msgr. Francis Xavier

Chaos ruled the Malabar Church when Francis Xavier took charge of the office of the apostolic vicar[292]: the faithful were in utter confusion due to the fishermen problem; the only missionary, Fr. Nicolas, was already being transferred from Malabar[293]. So Francis Xavier had to face a very difficult situation. Stabellini at Goa was creating problems, instigating Fr. Pascal and the dissident Latin priests for change of jurisdiction[294]. In this quandary, Francis Xavier wrote to the Congregation asking instructions how to proceed[295]. Owing to the removal of Stabellini and the appointment of Francis Xavier, the fishermen problem became quiet and the seminary at Varapuzha again began to run normally and smoothly. The arrival of two good missionaries in 1834 helped the mission greatly[296]. But, as he mentioned in the letter of May 12, 1836,

290 See APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 151r-v (letter of Francis Xavier to the Prefect on September 16, 1834); APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 309r (letter of Francis Xavier of July 13, 1834). Stabellini in one of his letters written from Goa induced Fr. Pascal to convoke a council of the faithful of the Malabar Church. This created much confusion. Francis Xavier knowing about this prohibited the council. See the details in APF, *SC IO 5*, 151v; APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 312r-v (letter of Francis Xavier to the Prefect on July 6, 1835).

291 That is the reason why many want to go over to the other jurisdiction. See the mind of Alcantara in APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 290r-v (letter of Alcantara to the Prefect of Propaganda on March 29, 1834).

292 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 87r (letter of Francis Xavier on December 18, 1832). The first letter after his appointment as apostolic vicar (dated December 8, 1831) showed this fact clearly. See the words he used in the letter: "...tanti tanti gravi, e tanti straordianri mali ... gravissimi disordini del Malabar...". APF, *SC IO 4*, ff. 694r, 695r.

293 See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 90v.

294 See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 151r (letter of Francis Xavier on September 16, 1833).

295 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 87r.

296 See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 719r; APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 153r.

the financial situation of the Malabar mission was disastrous and it was difficult for him to find the means to provide for the missionaries[297]. His calm and smooth nature, his prudent approach to the fishermen problem, and his previous experiences all led to the good of the Church of Malabar.

3.4.5. The need of more and good missionaries

Stabellini informed the Congregation of Propaganda Fide how important it was to send more missionaries with the necessary qualities to the mission at Malabar[298]; they should be good, zealous and prudent[299]. It is a fact that the missionaries themselves held that the bad examples among them impeded the conversion among the infidels[300]. In the letter of September 30, 1814, Fr. Prosper mentioned the scandals of the missionaries in the mission of Malabar[301]. In the same letter he wrote about the disgraceful acts of the apostolic vicar, Msgr. Raimond[302]. Many letters of Fr.Nicolas and of Msgr. Francis Xavier show the scandals which Prendergast and Stabellini caused in the Malabar Church[303]. The letter of August 26, 1826, which Msgr. Alcantara wrote to the Prefect of Propaganda narrating the life-style of the missionaries of Malabar witnessed that he was not satisfied with the way the missionaries conducted themselves at Varapuzha[304]. Msgr. Stabellini held:

> Missionaries of good qualities should be sent to Malabar so that they could bring unity among the ordinaries of Kochi and Kodungalloor and the apostolic vicar and thereby good harmony. The

297 See the details in APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 719r-v.

298 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 481v.

299 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 861v.

300 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 221v.

301 See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 77r.

302 See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 80r.

303 See the details on the scandalous actions of Prendergast and Stabellini in chapter 2.

304 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 106r (letter of Msgr. Alcantara to the Prefect of Propaganda dated August 26, 1826), in which he wrote: "Hanno sempre mangiato carne ad eccesione del Mercoledi e dei giorni proibiti dalla chiesa, hanno di più fatto uso sempre nella tavola dei cucchiai d' argento per motivo di pulizia e perché occorre spese volte trovarsi alla tavola persone respettabili o perché invitati e perché vengono in qualità di ospiti. Ho sempre udito direche tutti cio hanno fatto in vigore di una pennissione di Benedetto XIV, ma per quante ricerche abbia fatto, mai ho potuto trovare una tale permissione".

> Prefect and the Secretary of Propaganda should insist upon this matter with the General of the Order. As the College of St. Pancratius is reopened, there is hope that it could provide for the needs of that Christianity with a sufficient number of missionaries[305].

The letters of the missionaries themselves revealed the need for a sufficient number of missionaries, who were endowed with good qualities, as shown in the following account:

> The best means for conversion is to have a sufficient number of missionaries. They should have the necessary qualities and should be ready to work for Jesus Christ and not for themselves. They should necessarily be learned men. Since the people are ignorant, much effort is demanded on the part of the missionaries. They should have sobriety and disinterestedness; they should have charity and prudence[306].

Together with the sufficient knowledge of the places, people and customs, missionaries should be physically fit for the work, even in unfavourable climate and circumstances. The missionaries wrote:

> There is need of necessary strength and capacity to stand against the weariness and exhaustion of ministry and to go with the hot climate and the way of life. They should not accept the offerings of the people, which would lead to obligations[307].

305 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 481v, "...inviare alla missione operai fomiti delle dovute qualità,e che tra gli Ordinari di Cranganore e Coccino ed il Vicario Apostolico vi sia unione di sentimenti, e passi tra i medesimi buona armonia: da qual motivo nascono le contese inmateria di giurisdizione gia di sopra si è veduto. Quanto alla urgenza di una spedizione di nuovo soggetti al Malabar, non lascia l' Emo. Prefetto e Monsig. Segretario di insistere presso il Rmo. P. Generale dell' Ordine: Essendosi riaperto lo studio nel Collegio di S. Pancrazio in Roma, vi è fondamento da sperare, che in appresso sarà sempre pronto per i bisogni di quella cristianità un sufficiente numero di missionari".

306 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 222r, "Il mezzo però di maggior importanza per la conversione di quelle genti è un numero sufficiente di missionari come già dissi, li quali sono fomiti delle qualità necessarie a questo oggetto e vogliosi di faticare per Gesù Cristo e non per se stessi. Il missionario pertantao deve essere necessariamente dotto, attesa l'ignoranza degli indiani, la quale non permette, che possa il missionario facilmente trovar fra loro, chi lo illumini all'occurrenza, e possa senza l'aiuto dei libri.... In lui si richiedono morigeratezza e specialmente disinteresse poiché in lui tutti si spechiano, ne puo riuscir di vantaggio se attende ad arrichiersi; devono essere fomiti di carità e di prudenza onde avere sempre in considerazione le circostanze dei luogi, de costumi e delle persone".

307 APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 222r-v, "Si richiede in loro altresi robustezza di complessione da poter reggere alle fatiche dell'ministero, ed al caldo del clima e viveri di quei paesi. Un buon missionario non deve facilmente accettare le offerte dei Cristiani".

Thus, as answer to the last question no. 69[308], Msgr. Stabellini requested the Congregation of Propaganda Fide to send more missionaries to Malabar as a necessity considering the situation of the Church of Malabar[309]. Although he was well aware of the evils caused in the Malabar Church by the scandalous activities of Msgr. Prendergast, Stabellini due to his persistent character caused the same—as seen in the letters of Msgr. Franics Xavier and Fr. Nicolas—in the Church of Malabar, especially with regard to the problem of the fishermen which negatively affected the life of the Church of Malabar[310].

308 Question no. 69 reads thus: *Dicatur insuper quanam via, quo tempore, quibus navibus, et qua methodo securius, et cum minori dispendio Sacrae Congregationis transmitti possint non solum missionarii, sed etiam litterae, et pecuniae statutis temporibus pro eorumdem sustentatione*. APF, *Acta 193*, f. 496v.

309 The *relazione* of July 1, 1829, which Msgr. Stabellini formulated as answers to the 69 questions and presented before the Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda, was taken into consideration and discussion by the cardinals of Propaganda in the General Assembly of September 13, 1830, and they put forward the following *dubbi*:

1. whether to request the Holy Father to elect as apostolic vicar of Malabar R.P. Francis Xavier, ocd.

2. what reply would be given to the apostolic vicar of Malabar with regard to his proposal of utilizing the money which was in the treasury of the English East India Company.

3. whether the allotments which the Sacred congregation was granting the mission of Malabar in past years should be restored.

4. what answer would be given to the apostolic vicar with regard to the jurisdiction in those places once dependent on the ordinaries of Kochi and Kodungalloor.

5. whether it was right that some Latin parishes were given to the care of the Syrian priests.

6. whether clarification was necessary with regard to some of the customs in Malabar, especially the election of the parish priest by the faithful.

7. whether it should be made a law that the study of theology be done by the clerics before the ordination.

8. what should be decided with regard to the observance of enclosure in the house of Varapuzha.

9. whether the suggestion of Msgr. Stabellini to send to Malabar one Syrian priest to give courses in Syrian liturgy be accepted.

10. what decision should be made in regard to the complaints on the profits from the selling of wine.

11. whether the Congregation should insist that the General of the Carmelites send a sufficient number of priests to Malabar.

12. what instruction should be given in the controversy regarding the admission of students from the caste of fishermen in the seminary of Varapuzha. See these *dubbi* in APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 484r-v (the original is in Italian).

310 Note the words used: "... interino vicario apostolico tutto il possibile per distruggerla...". APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 600v.

3.5. Christians under the ecclesiastical governors

One letter of the Christians of the parish of Thalasserry[311] to the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide shows the attitude of the Christians, both Syrian and Latin, under the ecclesiastical vicar of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor. These Christians wrote to the Prefect requesting that their case be submitted to the Holy See[312]. The content of the letter was the grievances of the parishoners of Thalasserry because of the partiality and the misgovernment of the then ecclesiastical governor, João do Porto Peixoto[313]; they complained that his activities caused scandal. Their request was that they be placed under the leadership of Msgr. O' Connor, the apostolic vicar of Madras[314].

The parishoners of Thalasserry described Peixoto's negligence in his pastoral duties thus:

> During his government we have had much reason to be aggrieved and so now we express our grievances. Since his appointment this governor never paid a single visit to this and the neighbouring churches though the distance from his residence to this church is only three or four days journey, neither was one paid for the ten preceding years and consequently no confirmation has been administered for 20 years[315].

They were of the opinion that, due to his lack of zeal towards the salvation of his flock and the propagation of the Catholic faith, many of the parishoners became Protestants[316].

311 Thalasserry (Tellicherry) was then a British settlement, subject to the presidency of Madras. The parish of Thalasserry was erected in 1676 (i.e., 160 years before [as mentioned in the letter] the writing of the letter dated March 31, 1836). They wrote that since the erection of the parish they never had an occasion to write to the Congregation. See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 171r.

312 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 171r.

313 On him see chapter 2, pp. 136-137.

314 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 179v.

315 APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 171r-v.

316 The Christians of Thalasserry narrated another instance as a proof to the negligence of his pastoral duty. The ecclesiastical governor appointed in one of the parishes as vicar a lay friar, who was really a runaway from Goa. He performed all the functions of a priest without orders. When the fact was made public he left the place and became Protestant. See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 171v.

They divided their complaints against their ecclesiastical governor into five headings as follows:

> 1. The enactment of a new regulation by which the whole management of the church affairs was taken out of the hands of the community and perpetually entrusted to the governor's favourites, who are all relations, by appointing them syndics[317].
>
> 2. The loss sustained by the unjust sale, in consequence of the above power, of the best and the valuable silver ornaments belonging to the church[318].
>
> 3. The scorn with which the community has been treatd by the governor in many instances and the partiality shown to a single family[319].
>
> 4. The removal of the vicar ordered for the sake of his favourite family and against the unanimous will of the community which was quite satisfied with him[320].
>
> 5. The violent means employed by him for effecting the removal of the vicar[321].

With regard to the solution to these problems with the ecclesiastical governor they approached the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha[322], but without success. They accused the apostolic vicar of stating that he was a friend of the ecclesiastical governor and wrote:

> As a very recent instance we beg to state that some days ago a letter was received here by a member of our community stating that he, the apostolic vicar, having excommunicated 20 families

317 Such an act of the governor gave rise to a strong opposition on the part of the people. The parish priest who sided the community was transferred by the governor. See the details in APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 172r-173v.

318 The syndics without the approval of the parish priest or of the community sold many of the valuable silver and gold ornaments belonged to the fraternities. For details see APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 173v.

319 The community of Thalasserry found fault with the governor for showing partiality to the family of Jose Joaquim Lafrenais. He was one of the four syndics appointed by the governor to regulate the temporals of the church. Details see in APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 173v.

320 The immediate reason for the removal of the parish priest from the parish was burial of a child against the will of the Lafrenais family. This became a very great problem and the governor approached the civil court for the solution. See the details in APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 174r-179r.

321 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 172r. We see many documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives regarding the same subject. See APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 182r-208r.

322 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 178v.

> belonging to a church in the district of Thiruvithamkoor they came to Kottayam and embraced the Protestant faith.... Moreover, these three prelates are friends[323] and the frequent disturbances that have occurred in these dioceses impress us with the belief that we can never expect an impartial and unprejudicial government[324].

As reason why they decided to be under the apostolic vicar of Madras, they stated:

> The great respect and attention that English pastors command from the British government and the inhabitants of India and the consequent honour to the flock placed under their care compared to the awkward and ludicrous figure that other pastors, not knowing English, make among the Protestants and the scandal that they and their flock suffer are additional reasons for us to wish for the change[325].

These many and cogent reasons show the decadent religious life in the churches under the leadership of the Portuguese ecclesiastical governors.

323 Although this letter says that all three prelates were friends, the *relazione* of Msgr. Stabellini of July 1, 1829, says that they (the apostolic vicar and the ordinaries of Kochi and Kodungalloor) were always disunited in sentiments. See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 502v.

324 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 179r.

325 APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 179r. The parishoners of Thalasserry say that the same reasons moved the Catholic inhabitants of Calcutta and Madras for change.

CHAPTER 4

CHURCH AND STATE

For a better understanding of the history of the Church of the Suriani Catholics of our period, a brief look into the nature and the situation of the state in which she lived, her relations with the state, and the changed social circumstances due to a new political atmosphere must be considered. Relations with the state, governed either by natives or foreigners during this period[1], played a great role in deciding the destiny of the Church in Malabar.

4.1. The changed political situation of Malabar in this period

The English intervention in Malabar, present day Kerala, changed not only her secular history but also the Church history, especially that of the Suriani Catholics[2].

1 In the early years of the nineteenth century, although the states of Thiruvithamkoor (Travancore) and Kochi (Cochin) were in existence, the English power was the deciding element in politics. That is why the missionaries always appealed to the English Resident in Malabar for the decision of Church-State matters. For example, Msgr. Raimond had recourse to Colonel Macaulay. See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 71r; APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 607r (letter of Msgr. Raimond on January 27, 1808). Msgr. Prendergast turned to Colonels Munro and David Newal. See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 44v (letter dated July 24, 1824); APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v (letter dated July 5, 1822). Msgr. Stabellini and Msgr. Francis Xavier had recourse to the state. See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 309v (letter of Msgr. Francis Xavier of July 13, 1834, regarding the building of a church; APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 499r (letter of Msgr. Stabellini of February 25, 1828). In the letter to the Prefect of Propaganda on April 12, 1821, Msgr. Prendergast wrote: "I Re di Travancore e di Cochino sono Re di nome, ed il Residente fa tutto". APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 362r.

2 The decline of Padroado became a reality and Propaganda could pose her claims on the basis of political situations. In the report of the Cardinal *Ponente* in the General Assembly of Propaganda on November 26, 1833, we read the necessity of taking the leadership of the Church in India from the hand of the Padroadists and to entrust it to the apostolic vicars with the consent of the English government in India. See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 343r.

The political—and also social—situation owing to the English intervention in Malabar caused change, not only in the life of the faithful, but also in the shape of the Church as a result of the different English policiy[3].

4.1.1. The English power in Malabar

The foreign interventions in India altered to a great extent her socio-political, cultural and economic situations. This is all the more true with regard to Malabar, since Malabar had an age-old socio-political and cultural status of her own[4], different from that of the other states of India, *a fortiori* of the West. The English intervention witnessed a great momentum in Malabar as the political situation of Malabar underwent a great change due to their intervention in politics. The shape of Christianity too changed greatly owing to their influence since it was the English government which first sent missionaries to the Syrians of Thiruvithamkoor and gave the missionaries all support and encouragement, without denying the same freedom to the other communities.

4.1.1.1. The native politics

Malabar, the abode of the St. Thomas Christians, could be spoken of as a divided kingdom, till the foreign political establishment in Kerala. It was divided

3 The English did not follow the Dutch policy. When the Dutch had supremacy in Kerala, they did not allow the Portuguese clergymen to remain in Malabar. That is the reason why Sebastiani would also have to leave Malabar. See APF, *SOCG 234*, ff. 381r-382v. But the English policy did not deny to any their co-existence in Malabar. See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v (letter of Msgr. Milesius Prendergast, the apostolic vicar of Malabar, to the Congregation of Propaganda on July 5, 1822). The jurisdictionists made use of the tolerant English policy sometimes even negatively.

4 See BNVER, *Santa Maria della Scala, 1*, f. 76r (Relazion du Malabar du P. Geminien); AGOCD, *Plut 264a*, f. 9 (a description of Malabar titled *Malabar Cristiano (c. 1900)* written by Fr. Candidus, ocd, who was missionary in Malabar from 1870 to 1895. This unpublished Italian manuscript consists of 172 pages); KARIATTIL, *Noticias do Reyno do Malabar*, 1-4.

5 After the demise of the *Kulasekhara* empire in the twelfth century (1102 A.D.) many small kingdoms arose in Malabar, whereby the political unity of Malabar was lost. Four kingdoms were the major ones: Thiruvithamkoor or Venad in the South; Kolathunad or North Malabar, ruled over by Kolathiri or the Chirakkal Rajahs; Kochi or Perumpadappu *Swarupam* in the middle; and the kingdom of Zamorin of Kozhikod (Calicut). In the kingdom of Kochi there were four important principalities, namely: Ambalappuzha (Purakkad), Vadakkankur, Parur and Mangatt (Alangad). They were called 'the four pillars' of the Kochi state and were subject to the jurisdiction of Kochi.

because of the existence of many petty kingdoms[5] and minor principalities[6], fighting each other for supremacy and power. The major rulers depended for their position and authority on the minor chiefs and on the people[7]. Both the Zamorin of Kozhikod (Calicut) and the Rajah of Kochi (Cochin) claimed the overlordship of Malabar; the end result was an ever-existent rivalry between them. The internal dissensions were the effect of the anarchy and the misrule prevalent in their kingdoms. The foreign powers like the Portuguese[8], the Dutch[9] and the British were clever enough and fortunate to exploit this precarious political situation of Malabar for the realization of their dream of establishing their dominion and power through the means of trade contracts and thereby to have a grip on the Indian soil and a hold in the political sphere. The native Rajahs, either out of their good intention of establishing stability in their respective kingdoms or out of their greed to have supremacy in the neighboring kingdoms, were always ready to accept anybody from whom any support against the neighbor could be obtained, and to him were ready to give their loyalty. The foreign powers, who were also competing to establish their supremacy over the others, were ready to do 'any fair or foul means' to achieve the same.

6 There were many principalities in Malabar. Woodcock is of the opinion that when the Dutch subdued Kochi in 1663, Malabar was divided into about fifty different principalities. WOODCOCK, *A Portrait*, 163. Padmanabha Menon says that Malabar was cut up into a great number of small independent principalities, with rival interests and mutual jealousies. PADMANABHA MENON, *History of Kerala*, 417.

7 See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 218r.

8 The landing of Vasco da Gama at Kozhikod (Kerala) in May 1498 marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Kerala. Though the immediate object of the Portuguese was the expansion of trade, in course of time they entertained grand visions of building up an empire in India by bringing the local powers under subjection. The political instability and the governmental inefficiency prevalent in the divided kingdom of Malabar was favorable to the Portuguese dreams. The bitter rivalry between the Zamorin of Kozhikod and the Rajah of Kochi and of Kolathiri also helped the Portuguese endeavors to set foot in Kerala. Exploiting the willing help rendered to them by the local powers, the Portuguese could establish their commercial supremacy on the Kerala coast for more than a century and a half. See SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 177-187.

9 The Dutch were the first Protestant nation of Europe to establish trade contacts with Kerala by challenging the Portuguese trade monopoly. The Dutch period in Kerala actually begins with the capture of Kochi from the Portuguese in 1663. But even prior to this event individual Dutchmen had visited the Kerala coast and explored trade possibilities. The Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602. The Dutch Admiral Steven Van Der Hagen, sent by the Company, reached Kozhikod and concluded a treaty with the Zamorin in 1604 which provided a mutual alliance between the Dutch and the Zamorin for the purpose of expelling the Portuguese from the Indian soil. In 1658 the Dutch conquered Kollam (Quilon) and in 1663 Kochi. With this the influence of Portuguese on the Malabar coast ended. See NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual I*, 306-307. See also PANIKKAR, *Malabar and the Dutch*, 111-114.

4.1.1.2. The arrival of the English

Although the English had early relations with Kerala[10], their presence in Kerala became significant only towards the end of the eighteenth century with the victory over the Dutch. Though the Dutch dreamed of an overlordship over Kerala, their power was actually confined to the kingdom of Kochi and some minor chiefdoms in the neighborhood[11]. During the Napoleonic war in which Holland fought against England, on October 20, 1795, an English force under Major Petrie marched against Kochi from Kozhikod and enforced the surrender of Kochi. At the end of the war in Europe the Dutch ceded their territories in Kerala including Kochi to the English[12]. So the political developments helped the coming of English power in Malabar.

The British power in North Kerala had to face serious threat from the French who were their rivals in the political and commercial fields. The French presence in Mahe (Mayyazhi) was a potential menance to the English[13]. The treaty of Achen (1748)[14], which ended the war in Europe, brought about peace between the two powers in North Kerala too[15].

10 The first Englishman who came to Kerala was perhaps Master Ralph Fitch in 1583. See SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 260. In 1602 the first English fleet sailed to India. See HOUGH, *History of Christianity I*, 300. In 1615 Captain Keeling arrived off Kozhikod with three ships and entered into treaty with Kozhikod. In 1634 the English East India Company entered into an agreement with the Portuguese, according to which they got access to all Portuguese ports in Kerala. In 1644 the English obtained permission to build a factory at Vizhinjam, in 1664 at Kozhikod and in 1695 at Anjengo. In 1723 a formal treaty was concluded between the king of Thiruvithamkoor and the English. In 1726 they built a factory at Edavu and a little later at Thalasserry (Tellicherry). See NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual I*, 314-315.

11 See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 219v.

12 AHEI, *Monções do Reino 189*, f. 28.

13 See the details of the French defence of Mahe in DAB, *SPDD Malabar 19A1*, ff. 178-182. The Portuguese Governor Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral recounts to the Secretary of State Dom Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho the movements of the French squadrons on the coast of Malabar. See AHEI, *Monções do Reino 181A*, ff. 54-58. The letter was written on May 1, 1802, from Goa (original is in Portuguese).

14 For details on this treaty see JEDIN, *History of the Church VI*, 568.

15 See AHEI, *Monções do Reino 181A*, f. 55.

4.1.1.3. The Mysorean invasion and the growth of British power in Kerala

Haider Ali's (Mysore) first invasion in Kerala (1766) was facilitated by the neutrality of the English. During his second invasion (1776) he came into open clash with the British at Thalasserry[16]. Haider Ali then made an alliance with the French[17].

The English troops actively helped the Zamorin of Kozhikod and the local chieftains in their fight against the Mysore rulers[18]. With the accession of Tippu Sultan (1782) the hostilities between the English and Mysore became more pronounced. Tippu's march to Thiruvithamkoor in 1789 induced the English to enter the war actively on the side of the Rajah of Thiruvithamkoor who was their protected ally[19]. Tippu's attack of Thiruvithamkoor destroyed many churches in Malabar[20].

Upon the British march on Seringapatam[21] (1790) the Mysore troops withdrew from Kerala and their old strongholds fell one after another[22]. By the treaty of Seringapatam (1792) the whole of Malabar (except Wynad), Kochi and Coorg were ceded to the British by Tippu. With the fall of Seringapatam at the end of Mysore war[23] (1799) South Canara, which included the Kasargod-Hosdurg area, passed under the

16 See DAB, *SPDD Malabar 19*, ff. 78-80.

17 AHEI, *Cartas e Ordens 41*, f. 232v.

18 DAB, *SPDD Malabar 24*, f. 280.

19 See the manoeuvres of Tippu in Malabar in DAB, *SPDD Malabar 39*, ff. 319-321; the disturbances in Malabar in DAB, *SPDD Malabar 48*, ff. 610-611.

20 See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 70v.

21 The capital of the Mysore kingdom, also written as Seringapatanam, Sreerangapatanam or Srirangapatanam.

22 See DAB, *SPDD Malabar 78*, ff. 3560-3567 (the defeat of Tippu); AHEI, *Monções do Reino 183B*, f. 453; AHEI, *Monções do Reino 186*, f. 94; AHU, *RMI, Maço 178*, (unnumbered fasc.). The records are in Portuguese.

23 For details of the Mysore war see AHEI, *Monções do Reino 178A*, ff. 102-103 (The Portuguese Governor of Goa, Francisco da Veiga Cabral informs Dom Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho on April 22, 1799, from Goa), 106r-v (original in Portuguese). These documents show the strength and the movements of the armies of Tippu and the British. The English caused heavy losses to Tippu's army. Another document shows that Napoleon, after having sent the troops to Egypt, had a plan to invade the British as well as the Portuguese possessions and to capture Goa. See AHEI, *Monções do Reino 178A*, ff. 104-105. The final stage of the war and the death of Tippu on May 5, 1799, are given in AHEI, *Monções do Reino 179A*, ff. 377-378, and the fall of Srirangapatanam is described in AHEI, *Monções do Reino 179A*, 379-380 (letter written on September 12, 1799).

British[24]. While the English brought Malabar and South Canara gradually under their direct rule by pensioning off the local chieftains, they entered into separate treaty relation with the rulers of Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi conceding to them the status of vassals[25]. Thus making good use of the unstable situation of Malabar by allying themselves with Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi against the Mysore forces, the English power took root in Malabar.

4.1.1.4. British political supremacy in Malabar

The English Company entered into fresh treaties with the rulers of Kochi and Thiruvithamkoor. The Rajah of Kochi became a vassal of the British and had to pay an annual tribute[26]. Although the Company agreed to help the Rajah in recovering the territories captured from Kochi by Tippu, he had to exercise control over them under the supreme direction of the Company. For this the Rajah was assured of protection by the British. In 1800 Kochi was placed under the control of the Madras government[27], and thus came under the political control of the British[28].

A formal treaty was concluded between Thiruvithamkoor and the Company in 1795, according to which the Rajah accepted the British supremacy and the Company assured him protection[29]. A fresh treaty of alliance and friendship was concluded in 1805[30], which conferred on the British the specific power to interfere in the case of internal strife or rebellion. The Rajah undertook to abide by whatever advice the Company might choose to give him in regard to the internal administration of the state[31]. Thus Thiruvithamkoor also came under the British.

24 DAB, *SPDD Malabar 72*, f. 173. See the details in ff. 173-178.

25 The Malabar sovereigns requested military assistance and protection from the English against the Tippu's attacks. As a result, the Rajahs of Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi became their vassals after the war. See the details in DAB, *SPDD Malabar 75*, ff. 1925-1927.

26 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 607r.

27 AHEI, *Monções do Reino 182*, ff. 15r-v (letter of Cabral on February 11, 1803, is in Portuguese).

28 There were several revolts against the English intervention in Kochi on the part of a section of the people; for example, the revolt led by Paliath Achen in 1808. See SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 273.

29 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 607r.

30 See this treaty (copy) in CAEFT, *Record 21*, ff. 97-119. It is in Malayalam and written on palm leaves.

31 See APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 607v; APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 362v.

4.1.2. Suriani Catholics and the states of Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi

The majority of the Syrians, either Catholics or non-Catholics were in the state of Thiruvithamkoor, a region where Christianity played always a great role. The Catholic missionaries were cordially welcomed by the state authorities. The Mar Thoma Christians were highly esteemed by the government. Nagam Aiya writes:

> All religions have existed side by side in Thiruvithamkoor from the remotest ages under the wise and tolerant policy which has always characterised its native government long before the English or any other European nation came in contact with it, either on account of political or commercial relations. It is a remarkable proof of this religious tolerance that in Thiruvithamkoor 20% of the population are Christians against 2% in the Madras Presidency. From the earliest ages of the sway of Hindu monarchs in Malabar, the Hindu, the Muslim, the Christian and the Jew have equally enjoyed the protection, the friendship and sympathy of the government[32].

Shungoonny Menon writes about the support which the Thiruvithamkoor kings gave to the Christian religion:

> The Thiruvithamkoor sovereign had permitted the Perumal to give a perpetual grant of a tract of land for building a Christian church. Subsequent to this event, other grants of lands for the erection of Christian churches were made and are continued up to the present day, and the immense number of places of Christian worship now seen in the Thiruvithamkoor territory, between Tovalay and Paravoor, furnish evidence of the impartial countenance the Thiruvithamkoor sovereigns have always given to the Christian religion[33].

Thiruvithamkoor or Venad, one of the many *swarupams* (states), the most important of the main three kingdoms of Malabar, always stood first among the states of Malabar in many respects: the able kings, the administrative systems, high economic standards, and the like. The kings of Thiruvithamkoor were generous patrons of Hinduism and were tolerant to other religions as well[34]. Marco Polo[35] who visited Malabar, gives a very good description of Malabar. He was much impressed—as he wrote in his diary—by the high degree of economic prosperity that prevailed in the kingdom.

32 NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual II*, 115.

33 SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 397.

34 See KARIATTIL, *Noticias do Reyno do Malabar*, 8; SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 396. He writes: "Perfect toleration of Christianity had been guaranteed by the Thiruvithamkoor sovereigns from the earliest period of Christian era".

35 Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller on his way back from China, visited Malabar at the end of the thirteenth century (1293). In the same year John of Montecorvino also visited Malabar. For more details see TISSERANT, *Eastern Christianity*, 19-20.

4.1.2.1. Illustrious rulers of Thiruvithamkoor

Eighteenth-century Venad produced two illustrious rulers, viz., Marthanda Varma (1729-1758), and Karthikathirunal Rama Varma (1758-1798) popularly called the Dharma Rajah. Under their able guidance and leadership Thiruvithamkoor rose to prominence as a powerful military state. While Marthanda Varma annexed many neighboring states to Thiruvithamkoor and thus substantially contributed to the expansion of the kingdom, Dharma Rajah consolidated the conquests and preserved its territorial integrity in the face of threat from Mysore.

In the history of Thiruvithamkoor the name of Dharma Rajah was always paramount. His intellectual capacities, administrative ability, sense of art and literature are praiseworthy. He was always availble to the people. Shungoonny Menon says that he made himself perfectly accessible to the resident missionaries[36] of the apostolic vicariate and to others who wished to have interviews with him[37]. The Rajah's knowledge of different languages enabled him to converse with foreigners too[38]. Similarly the English

36 Paulinus, who visited Thiruvananthapuram (Trivandrum) as the Legate of Pope Clement XIV carrying a papal message of felicitations to the scholarly Karthika Thirunal Maha Rajah, writes about the Maha Rajah as follows: "The gentile king, Rama Varma (Maha Rajah), evinced a great propensity towards the Christian religion in 1775 and 1776, and he was greatly desiring to be instructed in the Christian mysteries after he had read the *Compendium Doctrinae Christiane* edited in Rome in the Press of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in 1772, in the common malabaric language, by the Rev. Fr. Clement of Jesus, formerly my companion in the missions. But since there was not any easy access to the king, this cause was neglected, and when I, in the year 1780, approached the king for the first time, the king twice signified to me this, his desire, through the interpreter Mr.Emmanuel Rodriguez of the Anglican Society, and he desired to make me his teacher of the English language in order that his intuition might remain hidden to the Brahmins". JOB, *Syrian Church*, 30. (The Latin text of the same is given in PAULINUS, *India Orientalis*, 226-227). This shows clearly the attitude of the Rama Varma Maha Rajah in regard to the Christians and the Christian religion.

Because of this very friendly and tolerant attitude towards the Christians of Malabar and the missionaries, Pope Clement XIV wrote a letter to the Karthika Thirunal Rama Varma Maha Rajah in 1774, and another one to the same Maha Rajah was written by Pope Pius VI on February 24, 1790. The content of these letters we can find in PAULINUS, *India Orientalis*, 264-266. In the second letter Pope Pius VI expresses his gladness at having heard from the missionaries that the king treated the apostolic vicar of Varapuzha, the European missionaries and the Christians (mainly the Syrian Christians who lived in Thiruvithamkoor) with great care and magnanimity.

37 SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 209.

38 The Rajah took advantage of the various interpreters employed in his court and studied the Dutch, Portuguese and English languages and, although he did not attain any proficiency therein, he could converse in those languages tolerably well. He spoke the Hindustani and the Persian languages fluently. See SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 209.

governemnt also followed a very favourable attitude to all the religions and they, as Msgr. Raimond writes, even protected the Suriani Catholics[39].

At this time the kingdom of Thiruvithamkoor was in a most flourishing condition and the comfort and the prosperity of the people were greatly increased. Trade and agricultural pursuits engrossed the attention of the inhabitants, and safety of life and property throughout the country was perfectly ensured. Thus Dharma Rajah's was an efficient administration for the good of all.

4.1.2.2. The unstable rule in the 1800's

After the death of Dharma Rajah, Bala Rama Varma (1798-1810) came into power[40]. As the king was weak and incompetent, the rule was in the hand of three ministers: Jayanathan Sankaran Nampoori (Nampoothiri)[41], Mathu Tharakan[42] and Sankaranarayana Chetty. Kerala historian Sreedhara Menon says that their policies brought the state to the brink of financial bankruptcy, as a result of which they began to levy forced loans upon prominent individuals with a view to enriching the exchequer[43]. Among the persons thus called upon to make payment was Velu Thampi, the *Karyakar*

39 See the words of Msgr. Raimond: "I signori inglesi, li quali con il potere, che esercitano in queste terre, ci proteggono, ed esistono in un modo molto particolare". APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 607r.

40 SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 287. Bala Rama Varma, born on February 18, 1798 (M.E. Kumbham 7, 973), was only sixteen years old when he became king.

41 Shungoonny Menon writes: He [the king] was completely in the hands of a set of favourites, among whom Oodiary Jayanathan Sankaran Nampoori, a native Brahman from the Kozhikod Rajah's territories, was the foremost and who seems to have been the moving spirit of the government of the time. An uneducated man, Sankaran Nampoori was devoid of all good principles and possessed an ambitious and avaricious spirit. SNUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 287.

42 Mathu Tharakan was a very rich Suriani Catholic, a businessman and politician in the late second half of the eighteenth century. Shungoonny Menon writes that he was an influential Syrian Christian of the north, who held the salt, tobacco and other contracts during the last reign. SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 293. In another place he is described as "the notorious Syrian Christian contractor ... and who was a merchant prince in Thiruvithamkoor possessing large estates". SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 328-329. He was very much interested in the welfare of the Syrian community and he did much for the good of the community. When Velu Thampi became *Dalawa*, he used all the means in his power to extirpate Tharakan whom he saw as an enemy. See the details in NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual I*, 418-419.

43 See SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 276-277.

of Thalakkulam who as a fighter, reacted sharply to this unreasonable demand on his purse and promptly organized a popular revolt against the king's ministers. Due to the revolt the ministers were dismissed and Velu Thampi was appointed *Dalawa* or *Valiya Sarvadhi Karyakar* in 1799[44].

4.1.2.3. Revolt against the British

Velu Thampi, who had risen to the high position of *Dalawa* in Thiruvithamkoor, was at first on good terms with the English Resident Colonel Macaulay. In 1805 he played a great part in negotiating the treaty with the English[45]. However, when the Resident interfered much in the internal affairs of the state, the displeased Thampi refused to pay the arrears of tribute stipulated in the treaty. Thampi got the support of the people, especially of the Nairs who were against the English intervention in Malabar. When the English government adhered to their demand to get the money, Thampi with no means to pay it, organized a revolution with the help of the people and planned to kill Macaulay[46]. Because the revolt was failed, Thampi commited suicide and his supporters were imprisoned. From that time onwards the English rulers tightened their grip over the rulers of Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi.

Ummini Thampi was appointed *Dalawa* on March 18, 1809, in the place of Velu Thampi[47]. Rani Gouri Lakshmi Bai (1810-1815), who came in power in 1810, dismissed Ummini Thampi in the same year and appointed Colonel Munro as Diwan. Several enlightened reforms were introduced during this period. She was succeeded by Rani Gouri Parvati Bai (1815-1829)[48], folowed by the reign of Swati Thirunal (1829-1847) which ushered a 'golden age' into the history of Thiruvithamkoor[49].

44 SREEDARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 276.

45 See SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 312.

46 See the details in NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual I*, 430.

47 SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 348.

48 CAEFT, *Record 45*, f. 191.

49 Swati Thirunal was famous for his musical talents. He encouraged fine arts in Thiruvithamkoor. As a scholar and multi-linguist he introduced English education in Thiruvithamkoor.

4.1.2.4. Kochi

When we study the political situation of the Suriani Catholics in Malabar we should consider along with Thiruvithamkoor Kochi, where a portion of the Suriani Christians lived[50], for in the political history of Kerala the part played by Kochi is worth-mentioning. The history of the colonization of the Portuguese and the Dutch to a large extent is connected to that of Kochi.

Coming to the English period, we must remember the name of Rama Varma (1790-1805), who is known in history as *Saktan Thampuran* (the strong prince) owing to his extraordinary ability[51]. First he was called upon by Tippu to play the role of mediator between Mysore and Thiruvithamkoor. Later in 1791 he threw off his alliance to Mysore and entered into a treaty with the English East India Company[52].

Kochi became a progressive state with the reign of *Saktan Thampuran*, in that he introduced a new administrative system[53]. The period immediately following his death was one of political turmoil, since the failure of the revolt of Paliath Achen in 1808[54] led to the installation of his rival Kunhikrishna Menon of Nadavarambu as Chief Minister of the state, with the approval of the British. In 1812 Menon was removed from office and Colonel Munro, the British Resident, was appointed as Diwan of Kochi. From the time of Munro's appointment till the abolition of the office of Diwan in 1947 Kochi was served by a long line of Diwans. After Colonel Munro, came Nanjappayya (1818-1825). Seshagiri Rao (1825-1830) and Edamana Sankara Menon (1830-1835) were neither able nor enlightened Diwans, although Venkatasubbayya (1835-1840) was an able administrator[55].

50 The majority of the Latin Catholics were in the region of Kochi.

51 See SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 248.

52 See DAB, *SPDD Malabar 87*, ff. 86-87.

53 The system which Rama Varma followed in his administration is described in the following two documents: DAB, *SPDD Malabar 91*, ff. 2454-2455; DAB, *SPDD Malabar 92*, ff. 2477-2478.

54 Paliath Achen joined with Velu Thampi in the revolt against the British.

55 See SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 285-286.

4.1.3. Carmelite missionaries and the English Residents

Good relations existed between the apostolic vicars of Varapuzha and the English Residents[56]. The Residents, although they were not of the Catholic faith, were not against the Catholic religion in Kerala, but rather supported the representatives of the Catholic religion in Malabar. Many letters of Msgr. Prendergast show that the English Residents were friends of Varapuzha[57]. Many of the writings of the Carmelite missionaries witness that the Residents did not deny their liberty nor the Catholic principles[58]. Msgr. Prendergast enjoyed a special relation with the Englishmen in Kerala since he himself was English (Irish).

During the time of Msgr. Prendergast, the archbishop of Kodungalloor wrote to the Resident informing him that all the Syrian churches of Malabar should belong to him on the condition of *jus patronatus*. Therefore, he demanded that the Syrian churches which the Carmelite missionaries of Varapuzha were occupying, should be left to the archbishop[59]. When Msgr. Prendergast came to know about the same he wrote to the Resident demanding his right over the Syrian churches of Varapuzha[60]. In such a controversial situation the Resident wrote that the archbishop should not interfere in the churches of the apostolic vicariate of Malabar under the mission of Varapuzha[61], designating that the churches which belonged to the apostolic vicariate of Malabar should remain under the apostolic vicar.

56 Fr. Nicolas of Jesus Mary described the Resident as *una specie di Legato del governo inglese*. APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 600v.

57 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 44v (letter dated July 24, 1824); APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v (letter dated July 5, 1822); APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 385r (letter dated June 7, 1821).

58 APF, *SOCG 945*, f. 858r; APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v (letter of Msgr. Prendergast dated July 5, 1822 to Cardinal Fontana); APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 362r (letter of Msgr. Prendergast on April 12, 1821); APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 71r, 222r; APF, *SC IO 1*, f. 607r (letter of Msgr. Raimond on January 27, 1808). Among the writings of the Carmelite missionaries, we find during our period only one letter (of Fr. Prosper) which speaks against the Resident. See APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 79v, 81r. This letter of Fr. Prosper, dated September 30, 1814, speaks against Colonel Munro, whom he considered a great enemy to the Carmelite missionaries. APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 81r.

59 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 44r (letter of Msgr. Prendergast to the Prefect of Propaganda on July 24, 1824).

60 See the regulations on the right of jurisdiction of Propaganda in the churches of Malabar in chapter 2, pp. 140-142.

61 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 44r. On another occasion also the English government expressed their idea on the *jus patronatus* in their conquered places. See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 118r.

During the fishermen controversy[62] Msgr. Stabellini wrote secretly to the Englsih Resident telling him to reserve all the churches under the apostolic vicariate of Malabar to the dioceses of Kochi or Kodungalloor[63]. During the same controversy the Latin churches under the apostolic vicariate requested the Resident to change their jurisdiction[64]. Seeing the danger, the Resident did not allow the change of jurisdictions willed either by the apostolic vicar or by the faithful. Regarding this incident Fr. Nicolas commented that if the Resident would have given them the permission to change the jurisdiction, it would have been a total destructon to the Malabar Church[65].

Although the Catholic missionaries were given the liberty of religion and the faithful, the liberty of conscience and of exercise of cult, the Residents followed the same policy with the English missionaries who worked among the Jacobites. It was the English government which sent the first group of missionaries to Kerala.

4.1.3.1. Colonel Macaulay and Msgr. Raimond

Colonel Macaulay, who became in 1800 the first English Resident in Malabar for Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi states[66], was much interested in the Christian communities of Kerala. The documents of our period show that Macaulay was in good terms with Msgr. Raimond[67]; the political situation might have forced him to be so. He knew well that for the English success in politics the support of the apostolic vicar—thereby of the whole Suriani community—was necessary. Msgr. Alcantara, the apostolic vicar of Bombay, in his letter of April 16, 1816, which he sent to the Propositor General of the Carmelites, wrote that Colonel Macaulay was a great protector of the bishop and the priests of Varapuzha[68].

62 See chapter 3, pp. 171-192.

63 See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 600v.

64 See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 603v.

65 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 604r.

66 SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 267.

67 See ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, ff. 1r-v; APF, *SC IO 2*, ff. 71r, 77v (letter of Fr. Prosper on September 30, 1814); APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 500v (letter of Msgr. Stabellini on February 25, 1828).

68 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 60r, "Il Colonello Macaulay Irlandese, grande protettore del vescovo e padri di Verapoli".

Although a treaty was concluded with the Thiruvithamkoor Rajah, the Resident found that there was great opposition to him in Thiruvithamkoor under the leadership of Velu Thampi *Dalawa*[69]. Thampi, at first on good terms with Macaulay, later became his enemy and conspired to kill him[70]. Some documents show that it was Msgr. Raimond who saved the life of Macaulay from the conspiracy of rebels in Thiruvithamkoor and that was why Macaulay proposed the idea of raising a fund for the seminary of Varapuzha[71].

4.1.3.2. Colonel Munro and the Syrians of Malabar

From 1810 till 1819 Colonel Munro was the second British Resident in Malabar[72]. For a considerable part of this ten years he was also in charge of the administration of both Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi. This unusual combination of offices meant that Munro was lord of all that he surveyed, but his strength and authority was directed to one single end, the welfare of those committed to his care[73]. Mackenzie mentions a proclamation which Colonel Munro made regarding the disputes between the Roman Catholics of the different jurisdictions[74].

> Regulation passed for the better discipline of the Roman Catholic churches and priests situated within the territories of Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi: Whereas, because of ill-will and misconduct, public damage and many detriments to religious observances and to the interest of the Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi state have unfortunately happened throughout the Roman Catholic churches established from early times in these states and whereas it has been found necessary to put a stop to such malpractices, and, so far as is possible, to prevent similar evils; Therefore, be it known to all concerned that the churches situated within the territories of Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi will from this day forward obey the superior named in the document annexed hereto and will manage their religious affairs accordingly. Obeying the said superior, they will not, as heretofore, obstinately persist in harmful changes. The purpose and intent of this regualtion is that none of the churches in

69 See CAEFT, *Grandhas 289* (a letter of Macaulay on December 28, 1808), unnumbered fasc.

70 See page 230.

71 See ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, ff. 1v-2r.

72 SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 358. Maha Rajah died in the same year on November 7.

73 For more details, see MEHRA, *Dictionary of Modern Indian History*, 471. Stephen Neil writes that Munro's aim was to clean the impoverished, divided and weakened states and to bring the people to prosperity. STEPHEN NEIL, *History of Christianity*, 240.

74 Mackenzie writes that this proclamation, made in 1807, is kept in the record room at Ernakulam; however, the year is not correct since Munro became the Resident only in 1810. Mackenzie also writes that the list of the churches was not forthcoming.

> Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi shall change—those in Thiruvithamkoor without the joint and previous consent in writing of the British Resident and Ram Rajah, and those in Kochi, without the joint and previous consent in writing of the British Resident and the Rajah of Kochi[75].

It shows that Munro took much interest in the Suriani Catholics of Malabar, and showed a great concern in the *Puthenkoor* Syrian community as well. He was not only generous in giving assistance, but took steps to secure help from the government.

He felt the need of establishing a college for the training of the clergy and took all possible steps to bring this about. The Resident persuaded the Rani of Thiruvithamkoor to give the land needed for a site and also to provide an endowment. In due course the college[76] was built at Kottayam and completed in 1813. Then Munro made an appeal to the Church Missionary Society, which was founded in 1799, to send missionaries to help in educating the clergy for the Syrian Church[77]. His appeal was considered and the Society decided to send the missionaries to Malabar[78].

After Munro, David Newal[79] was the English Resident in Malabar. He too was a good friend of Varapuzha, as the letters of the Carmelite missionaries indicate[80]. Msgr. Prendergast wrote that he was a profitable victory to the Roman Catholics[81].

4.2. The State-Church relationship

Because the Church of the Suriani Catholics was supported by the English government, the Residents of the English government in Malabar were as a rule on good terms with the apostolic vicars and with the missionaries. There is no instance in the period of our study when the English Resident stood against the decisions or plans of the leaders of the Suriani Church in the apostolic vicariate.

75 NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual II*, 213-214.

76 Regarding the establishment of this college see the details in HUNT, *Anglican Church*, 12.

77 SHERRING, *Protestant Missions*, 312.

78 His too great interest in the Syrian (Jacobite) community was looked upon with a critical eye by the Catholic missionaries. For example, APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 81r (letter of Fr. Prosper on September 30, 1814).

79 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 556v; APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 385r.

80 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 385v.

81 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 385v, "un vittorio vantaggioso per i cattolici Romani".

4.2.1. The subsidies to the missionaries

Some of the documents of this time show that the English government in India granted financial help to the missionaries from the year 1799[82]. A letter[83] written from the East India House on August 24, 1820, witnesses to this fact:

> I am commanded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to apply to you for payment of the sum of Roman scudi 10980 due to the Company for advances made by their governments in India from the year 1803 to the year 1819 to the Romish (Roman) missionaries at Varapuzha on the Malabar coast for their subsistence and expenses[84].

The amount paid annually was 1220 Rupees or 610 scudi[85] and this was meant for the subsistence of the missionaries of Varapuzha. The payment continued till the year 1819. The letter of August 24, 1820, directed to Propaganda mentioned that the Court of Directors already authorized Mrs. Huddart, Routh and Garland[86] in 1818 to apply to the Prefect of Propaganda for the payment of Roman scudi 9760[87].

The letter written to Mrs. Huddart, Routh and Garland on July 23, 1818[88], showed the necessity of paying back the due amount. This letter shows clearly the

82 Some documents say that the payment was since 1799 (APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 285), but others say from the year 1803 (APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 332). The fact is that the first payment was in 1799/1800. There was no payment in the years 1800/1801 and 1801/1802; it was given again from 1802/1803 onwards.

83 This letter was written by the General Secretary of the East India Company from the East India House at Madras, addressed to the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide at Rome. See this letter in APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 323r-324r.

84 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 323r.

85 See for example the receipt of one instalment. APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 309. See also APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 76v (letter of Fr. Prosper on September 30, 1814).

86 They were the agents of the Company at Livorno (Leghorn). Following the letter to the agents at Livorno, a letter was also sent to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide on the same subject on December 1, 1818. See this letter in APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 282r-283r.

87 Scudi 9760 was the total amount paid to the missionaries by the Company till the year 1816/1817. After their appointment the Company again granted 1220 scudi. See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 323r. And thereby the total amount was raised to 10980.

88 This letter was written on July 23, 1818 by Carlo Casturght of the Hon. Company of India at London. See this letter in APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 285r.

89 In the margin a list of the amount paid to the missionaries is given. According to this list seventeen times Rs 1220 was paid to the missionaries from the year 1799/1800 till 1817/1818. But no payment was made in the years 1800/1801 and 1801/1802. So the total amount was 20740 Rupees or 10370 scudi. APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 285.

payment which the English government made for the mission of Varapuzha in the past years:

> The commissioners of the Honourable Court of the Directors of the Company of India have charged me to make note, as it seems in the registers, the paying out of the annual payments, which have been payed to the Catholic missionaries in Malabar, sanctioned by the Court of their government at Madras; the total sum granted during this period, as is noted in the margin[89] comes to Rupees 20740 of Bombay, which is, therefore 10370[90] Roman scudi since two Rupees make one Scudo. They have been paid to the vicars general[91] of Varapuzha (Malabar) for the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide of Rome taking into consideration of the critical circumstances of Europe in the past times[92].

The fact that the English East India Company helped the Catholic Church in India in time of necessity was shown through the words of Cardinal Pedicini:

> The English East India Company during the past wars, when the missionaries of Malabar could not communicate with the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, granted to the ministers of the Catholic cult a sum of about 10000 scudi within a period of approximately 20 years[93].

[89] This is the total amount paid till 1818 (1817/1818) as this letter was written in 1818. But according to the letter of August 24, 1820, the amount is 10980 since in the year 1818/1819 one more instalment ass paid (610 scudi) and thereby the total amount to 10980.

[91] The following is the copy of a receipt of the said amount with the signature of the vicar general. This receipt shows that Fr. Nicolas was the then vicar general, the amount was 1220 Rupees or 610 scudi and the transaction was done in the name of the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 309.

Verapoli nel Malabar questo di 18. 7bre 1817. per Scudi Romani 610 o siano Ruppia 1220.

compiacerà V.Em.Rma.Prefetto della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fede pagare per questa prima di cambio all' Ordine dell' Onorabile Corte de' Sig.ri Direttori di Londra Scudi Romani seicento dieci, o siano Ruppia mille due cento venti, quali passera in disconto de sussidii dovuti a questa missione malabarica, secondo l' avviso di chi ha l' onore di essere...V.Em.Rma.

Ulmo. *Obtmo. Dmo. Servo*
P. Nicola di Gesù Ma. Car. Sca
Vic. Gnle.

[92] APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 285r, "I commissari de'Conti dell Ona. Corte di Dirett. della Compagnia dell' India, mi hanno incombensato di farle noto, come apparisce da Registri, lo sborso delli annuali somministranti, stati pagati a missionari cattolici in Malabar, sanzionati dalla corte del loro governo a Madras; la total somma de'quali durante il tempo che vien notato in margine, ascendono a 20,740 Rupee di Bombay, cha a 2 Rupee per scudo fanno 10,370 scudi Romani. Sono state fatte più volte delli tratte per l'ammontare di tal somma da diversi vicari generali di Verapoli (Malabar) a sua Eminenza il Prefetto della Congregazione per la Propaganda Fede di Roma onde rimborsare ... riguardo della Compagnia suddetta alla critica circostanza dell' Europa nei tempi scorsi".

[93] APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 287r, "La Compagnia dell'Indie Orientali, nel tempo delle passate guerre, in cui erano intercette le communicazioni dei missionari Romani stabiliti nel Malabar colla S. Congregazione di

Although the Congregation of Propaganda was informed of the debt due to the Malabar mission, till the year 1820 nothing was repaid[94]. Insisting on the repayment, the General Secretary of the Court of Directors of the Company in a letter of August 24, 1820, wrote: "It is with surprise and regret that the Court learnt that every endeavour on the part of the agent deputed by Mrs. Huddart and Co. to obtain repayment of this just demand has been ineffectual"[95].

4.2.1.1. The reason of granting the subsidies to the missionaries

After the French revolution, in the changed circumstances of the Catholic Church in Europe, the missionaries in India did not receive the necessary finance from their native countries[96]. Taking this particular situation into consideration the English East India Company decided to grant the missionaries at Varapuzha sum of 1220 Rupees per annum. Note the words of the letter: "The Court of Directors of the East India Company were induced solely by motives of compassion for the distressed state of the Romish missionaries in India, to grant them temporary assistance"[97].

The then missionaries in the Varapuzha mission wrote to the Bombay government on March 3, 1799, asking for financial help since the war which prevailed in Europe prevented regular communication with, and remittances from, their native country[98]. In their letter they showed that the Congregation in Rome allotted the annual sum of Roman scudi 610 (1220 Rupees) for the subsistence and expense of the missionaries

Propaganda Fide, somministro a quei disgraziati ministri del culto cattolico diverse somme, che per lo spazio di circa venti anni formano un assieme di scudi 10,000 circa".

94 The letter of December 1, 1818, had already demanded the Congregation to repay the amount in the near future. See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 283r.

95 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 323. The agents of the company at Livorno had been already deputed by the Court (with the letter of July 23, 1818) to inform the Congregation about the paying back of the debt. As they were in Livorno they could easily press the Congregation.

96 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 323v (letter from the East India House on August 24, 1820).

97 APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 323r-v. It shows that the initiative was from the English East India Company and not from the Congregation of Propaganda, but with its approval.

98 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 323v. With the letter of August 24, 1820, there was included also a copy of the memorial of the missionaries of March 3, 1799, which they had sent to the Bombay government, as well as an extract from the public letter of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to their government of Bombay on March 18, 1801, on the same subject.

of the Discalced Carmelites in Malabar[99]. Although this was a provisional arrangement for the sustenance of the missionaries of Varapuzha during the post-war time[100], it was really a great help for the mission in Malabar.

4.2.1.2. The necessity of paying back

The Secretary of the East India House, therefore, expressed the wish to pay back the due amount as soon as possible[101]. He asked the Prefect of Propaganda both for the repayment and also to find additional means for the future maintenance of the missionaries in Malabar[102]. Insisting on the repayment he wrote:

> Under these circumstances the East India Company naturally expected on the return of peace that the Propaganda Fide would repay without delay the amount advanced to their missionaries and arrange for their future maintenance[103].

In the letter to the Congregation of Propaganda of August 24, 1820, the General Secretary of the Directors of the English Company wrote that the Congregation had the duty to pay back the amount as it was a just demand on the part of the Company and in addition the amount had been granted without interest[104]. The letter reads thus:

> It appears however that although nearly two years have elapsed[105] since application has been made for the payment of the Company's just demand, and although they have refrained from claiming interest on the advances made, the application has not been attended with a satisfactory result[106].

This letter shows that although the Congregation had been informed on December 1, 1818, till then, i.e., August 24, 1820 the money was not repaid to the English

99 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 323v.

100 Although it was a provisional one, the payment continued till 1819, i.e., for almost 20 years. As the situation of Europe returned to its normalcy, the English Company wanted the the amount paid back.

101 See APF, *SC IO 3*, ff. 287r, 285r, 323r and 332r.

102 Through the Residents in Malabar the Secretary could understand that the apostolic vicariate of Varapuzha had a great need of money and the resources were very little.

103 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 323r.

104 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 323v.

105 This is in reference to the letter sent on December 1, 1818, to the Congregation of Propaganda asking for payment. The letter of December 1 also informed the Congregation that the Company had appointed their agents at Livorno for this purpose. See footnote no. 86.

106 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 323v.

Company. In the letter the Secretary mentioned that as he had been informed and directed by the Court to acquaint the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda that they have determined to discontinue making any further advances to the missionaries in Malabar and that the instructions regarding the same would be forwarded to the Madras government[107].

4.2.1.3. The amount to be liquidated by instalments

The Prefect of Propaganda wrote on October 7, 1820[108], a reply to the letter from the East India House of August 24, 1820. Taking into consideration the explanation of the cardinal with regard to the repayment of the sum of Rs 20740, the Court of Directors of the Company decided to accede to the wishes of the Congregation[109]. The Secretary of the East India Company wrote again on December 12, 1820, to the Prefect of the Congregation expressing the favourable decision of the Directors[110], which reads as follows:

> I have received the commands of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the seventh of October 1820 and to acquaint you that the Court under the circumstances which you have represented readily acquiesce in your wishes that the Company's claim on account of advances made to the Romish missionaries in Malabar may be liquidated by instalments[111].

Thus according to the decision of the Court of Directors of the English East India Company, Propaganda should pay every year 1000 scudi to the East India Company, at payment which did not include any interest or commission[112]. The court then ordered receipts given for the money already remitted[113].

107 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 323v.

108 See the letter in APF, *Lettere 301*, ff. 825r-826r, addressed to the Secretary General of the Directors of the East India Company. With this letter the Prefect of Propaganda informed the Secretary that 1000 scudi were already consigned to Chevalier Celani in remittance of the debt due to the Company.

109 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 332r.

110 See this letter in APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 332r; see also APF, *Lettere 304*, f. 54r.

111 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 332r.

112 "... a rate annuali di scudi 1000 senza interessi e senza provvigione alcuna". APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 287r.

113 According to the reply of the Congregation, 1000 scudi were already paid to Celani. See footnote 108.

> The Court have authorized Mrs. Routh and Garland[114], who were at Leghorn to act for the Company in respect to their claim, or to substitute the Chevalier Joseph Antonio Celani to give receipts for the sum of 1000 scudi already remitted and for any subsequent sums which may be paid on the same amount[115].

4.2.1.4. Further events

The letter of Cardinal Pedicini[116] showed that the first payment shoul have been made in 1819[117] but, as it was not done, the Company wrote again to the Congregation stating that the whole amount should be paid within three months; otherwise the Company would suspend the payment not only to the missionaries of Varapuzha but also to everybody depending on the government of Madras[118].

Although the Company proposed such a hard measure of suspending the subsidies to the missionaries, Chevalier Celani later wrote to the Congregation showing their readiness to solve the problem. Accordingly, the Congregation should make up the arrears, and the Company would continue to grant the subsidies to the missionaries[119].

A letter which Msgr. Poynter, the apostolic vicar of London wrote to Robert Gnadwell on January 22, 1822, mentioned that according to the information which he received from Msgr. Prendergast, June 30, 1821 (from Varapuzha), the Company was no longer paying the subsidies to the missionaries in Malabar. The words of Msgr. Prendergast are as follows:

> I got a letter from the Collector of Malabar showing that the Hon. Court of Directors prohibited the payment to the missionaries, as it was against the practice. Since the money was the main support of the bishop and of the missionaries, the mission would surely perish[120].

114 In 1818 both Routh and Garland were authorized by the Company for the same purpose.

115 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 332r.

116 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 287r.

117 This was according to the instruction, as mentioned in the letter of December 1, 1818, given to the Prefect of Propaganda by the Court of Directors. APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 287v.

118 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 287v.

119 "... in cui faccia conoscere le disposizioni, che prendera per effettuare il pagamento di quella somma arretrata, e per le sovvenzioni da farsi in avvenire". APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 288r. See also APF, *Lettere 302*, f. 293v.

120 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 467r, "... ho ricevuto una lettera dal collettore di Malabar, che è stato proibito dall'Onorevole Corte dei direttori a non pagar più, come si è finora pratticato. Siccome questo denaro è stato il principale sostengo del vescovo, e di questi missionari, perira questa missione".

After having mentioned the manner of payment, he himself expressed the fear thatthere might be some delay in the repayment, which the Congregation should have to make[121].

4.2.2. The seminary fund

Msgr. Stabellini, apostolic vicar of Malabar, while describing the mission of Malabar in his report of July 1, 1829[122], mentioned the fund utilized for the maintenance of the seminary of Varapuzha[123]. After having described the strength of the seminary, he wrote that the seminary had not enough money for its maintenance for, although the Congregation was giving financial help for the seminary and for the missionaries in the post-war time, nothing was being given at present and, therefore, the only means of money was the interest of a fund left in the treasury of the English Company, which came to 420 scudi annually[124]. Stabellini indicated that he did not know the origin of the fund other than a record in the contract of the treasury of the Company, which stated that the interest of this fund should be used for the expenses of the seminary and the rest for the pious works[125].

4.2.2.1. The origin of the fund

In the letter which Stabellini sent to the Congregation on February 25, 1828, he wrote that this fund originated at the time of Msgr. Raimond, apostolic vicar of

121 Prendergast wrote about the mode of payment thus: "Questa annuita è stata pagata in Malabar dai direttori della Compagnia delle Indie Orientali al vescovo, e rimborsata da una lettera di cambio tratta dal superiore della missione sulla Propaganda". Then he continued: "Non so se vi sia stata qualche ritardanza nel ripagare". Accordingly Msgr. Poynter told Gnadwell to inform Cardinal Fontana, the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda. See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 467r.

122 See the report of Msgr. Stabellini in chapter 3, pp. 149-150.

123 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478v.

124 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 497r. The same fact is mentioned in the letter of Fr. Prosper of September 30, 1814. See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 78v. The letter which Msgr. Stabellini wrote on February 25, 1828, to the Prefect also mentioned the fund kept in the treasury of the English Company. See the details in APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 500v.

125 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478v; APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 500v.

Malabar, in April 1803[126]. He was of opinion that the amount was 3000 Pagodas[127] or 10500 Rupees[128], a donation from the then English Resident, Colonel Macaulay. He wrote:

> This was a perpetual and indissoluble loan kept in the treasury of the Company with conditions expressed in the contract between Msgr. Raimond and the governor in the Council of Madras that the interest should be used for the maintenance of the seminary[129].

Msgr. Raimond's intention in writing about this fund was to ask Propaganda whether he could make use of the interest of this fund for purposes other than the seminary, against the condition expressed in the contract[130].

4.2.2.1.1. Different versions

There are many and diverse versions on the origin of this fund. Some of the versions say that that this money was from Mathu Tharakan, a rich Suriani Catholic. According to others it was a donation from the then English Resident, Colonel Macaulay. The writings of the missionaries witness that this amount accrued from the property of Mathu Tharakan, but was not given by him. While Msgr. Stabellini claimed this was a donation from Macaulay[131], Msgr. Zaleski wrote that it is from the property of Mathu Tharakan[132]:

126 APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 500v.

127 An old money system prevalent in India in the last centuries, called in Malayalam *Poovarakan.*

128 All the documents agree with the sum (3000 Pagodas = 10500 Rupees = 6000 scudi). APF, *Acta 193*, f. 478v, 484r; ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 1v; APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 500v; APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 78v.

129 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 479r, "... fù posto questo denaro per imprestito perpetuo, ed indissolubile nel tesoro della Compagnia con condizione espressa nel contratto tra Monsig. Raimondo ed il governatore in concilio di Madras, che questi interressi sarebbero impiegati nella manutenzione del seminario".

130 Thus he expressed the doubt as to whether the fund was meant for the seminary or for the mission. This is clear in the *dubbi* of the General Assembly. The *dubbio* 2 reads as follows: "quale risposta dare a Monsig. Vicario Apostolico del Malabar quanto al dubbio proposto intorno alla maniera, onde debbe erogarsi il frutto del denaro esistente a favore della missione nel tesoro della compagnia Inglese? E quale risposta dare intorno ai dubbi insorti sul modo con cui fù passata a favore della missione la somma di scudi 6000 nel tesoro della compagnia inglese e con cui si fanno altri simili contratti?" APF, *Acta 193*, f. 484r.

131 See APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 500v.

132 See ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, ff. 1r-v. In 1894, the Apostolic Delegate of East India, Msgr. Zaleski made a study on the so-called fund of the seminary, i.e., the 3000 Pagodas. This study was sent to

> In the early years of the nineteenth century, Mathu Tharakan, a rich Suriani Catholic, organized a conspiracy against the English Resident of Thiruvithamkoor, Colonel Macaulay, and it resulted almost in a revolution. The then apostolic vicar, Msgr. Raimond saved the life of the Resident by hiding him in his residence. The rebels were caught and Tharakan was condemned to death. But with the intercession of Msgr. Raimond the death punishment was changed to the confiscation of his properties. Taking into consideration the services Msgr. Raimond rendered, the Resident wanted to give a donation to the apostolic vicar[133].

This version is not fully correct, since it was not Mathu Tharakan but Velu Thampi who conspired against Macaulay[134]. The local writings witness that Macaulay was friendly with Tharakan[135]. When Thampi ordered to confiscate the properties of Tharakan, Macaulay cancelled the order. Regarding the same, Nagam Aiya wrote:

> The *Dalawa* demanded large sums from Mathu Tharakan, a Christian, as arrears of *Sirkar* revenue. The Resident opposed it writing to the *Dalawa* that 'his conduct was dictated by a spirit of the barest treachery and tyranny'[136].

Sreedhara Menon commented on the situation thus: "An order issued by *Dalawa*, attaching the lands of Mathu Tharakan who owed large sums of money to the Thiruvithamkoor exchequer by way of taxes, was cancelled by Colonel Macaulay"[137].

Cardinal Ledockowski, Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda, on June 1, 1894, from Kandy. Together with his study, there were three enclosures 1. Trust deed between the English Company and Msgr. Raimond on March 7, 1809; 2. Letter of Colonel Macaulay to Msgr. Raimond on November 17, 1808; 3. Opinion of Msgr. Medlycott, the apostolic vicar of Trissur. See this study with the three enclosures in ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, ff. 1r-24r. Herein Zaleski came to the conclusion that the fund belonged to the seminary and not to the mission of Varapuzha. After having narrated the origin of the fund (see the details in ff. 1r-2r), he came to the controversy: the two apostolic vicars and the rector of the Seminary of Varapuzha held the view that the annual income of 840 Rupees belonged to the seminary, while Fr. Candid, vicar general of Varapuzha, held that it belonged to the mission of Varapuzha. This question was taken into discussion in the provincial synod of Varapuzha with the conclusion that it was a 'deed of trust' in the form of a contract between the Governor of the English Company and Msgr. Raimond and the fund was meant for the maintenance of the seminary, not for the mission of Varapuzha, nor for the Order of the Carmelites.

133 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 1v.

134 See SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 273; NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual I*, 429. Thus the ecclesiastical version of this event is wrong.

135 See SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 329.

136 NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual I*, 429. He continues: "This led to an open rupture and at last the Resident insisted on the dismissal of *Dalawa*".

137 SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 273. Shungoonny Menon writes about the same event as follows: "... and regardless of the Tharakan's attachment to Colonel Macaulay he [Velu Thampi] issued orders for the confiscation of those lands belonging to Tharakan, on which the tax had not been paid.

The letter shows that Macaulay was not against Tharakan[138], which became one of the reasons why Thampi plotted against Macaulay[139]. As the document[140] indicates, there was a revolt against Macaulay in Thiruvithamkoor in 1808[141]. In this revolt, however, Macaulay was saved by the English soldiers and not by the apostolic vicar[142].

The reason the Carmelite missionaries[143] were against Tharakan was that he always stood for and demanded native bishops and he was in the forefront of the revolt against the Carmelites, he was instrumental in sending Pandari to Baghdad, etc.[144]. Velu Thampi[145] informed the apostolic vicar, as the Carmelite documents show, that Tharakan had collected money from some of the Syrian parishes of Varapuzha to give to the Thiruvithamkoor government[146].

The documents witness that the money truly came from the property of Tharakan[147]. The secular documents show that Tharakan had great financial dealings

Tharakan complained to the Resident, and Colonel Macaulay requested the Diwan to cancel his orders". SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 329.

138 Accordingly, for Tharakan there was no need for him to stand against Macaulay.

139 Although Velu Thampi was at first friendly to Macaulay, from 1806 onwards he became an enemy to Macaulay. The main reason was Macaulay demanded the amount which the Thiruvithamkoor government ought to pay to the Madras government. But Thampi, the finance minister found no means to pay the due amount from the exchequer of the government.

140 APF, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 1r.

141 The revolt began on December 18, 1808. See SREEDHARA MENON, *Kerala History*, 274.

142 See SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 337-338. So with regard to this event also we find contradictions between the ecclesiastical and secular documents.

143 Zaleski prepared the document, basing his information on the report of the Carmelite missionaries. Many other documents of our period show that Tharakan was considered an enemy by the apostolic vicars.

144 See chapter 1, pp. 9-13.

145 The local version says that Velu Thampi was on good terms with the missionaries, not because he supported the Christians but he was a good politician. Instigated by Thampi, the apostolic vicar wrote against Tharakan to Macaulay. Thus Thampi and the missionaries—the two enemies of Tharakan—made use of the time. See JOSEPH, *Thachil Mathu Tharakan*, 343.

146 With this letter the apostolic vicar gave the Resident another picture of Tharakan, and thereby Macaulay lost confidence in Tharakan.

147 See ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 1v. But it is not clear how the money became the fund for the seminary. Whether it was a donation for the Suriani Church from his own property on his own initiative,

with the Thiruvithamkoor State Government[148]. It is a fact that the endowment of 3000 Pagodas was made not only for the Suriani Catholic community, but also for the non-Catholic Syrian community (Jacobites)[149]. The English government later made further endowments for the Syrian community; for example, in 1816 Colonel Munro gave 8000 Rupees for erecting parish schools (for the Jacobites) and in 1818 Rupees 20000 for the college at Kottayam[150].

4.2.2.2. A perpetual loan

We can now understand how the amount became the source of income for the seminary. The documents show that, taking into consideration the services which Msgr. Raimond rendered, the Resident wanted to give a donation to the apostolic vicar[151]. His proposal was to give the interest of a part of the the property of Mathu Tharakan to the seminary of Varapuzha[152]. With this view Colonel Macaulay wrote a letter to Msgr.

or from the confiscated property on his own initiative, or the initiative of the apostolic vicar or of the Resident is not a question to be treated in our study.

148 The versions are contradicting: some say that Tharakan had to pay the government a large sum as tax; others say he had to get from the government a great amount by way of the construction of the port of Alappuzha and in the timber business. Shungoonny Menon writes: He had been restored to his former state of influence, subsequent to his being relieved from his later troubles (due to the insurrection of 1799 by Velu Thampi), and his lands were confiscated by the order of the *Sirkar* for nonpayment of taxes. SHUNGOONNY MENON, *History of Travancore*, 329.

149 3000 Pagodas were for both groups respectively. The interest of the endowment for the Suriani Catholics was being received by the apostolic vicars of Varapuzha and the interest of the other endowment was being given to the *Metran* of the Jacobite Church. The endowment for the Jacobites later became a great controversial issue due to the division among the Jacobites. It is known as the case of *Vattippanam* [money put in interest].

150 See JOSEPH, *Thachil Mathu Tharakan*, 386. Some local documents say that these sums were from the amount which the British government ought to give back to Mathu Tharakan. See BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 250.

151 This donation given to Msgr. Raimond was not for his use, but was meant for the apostolic vicariate. According to the letter of Macaulay of November 17, 1808, it was meant for the apostolic vicariate, but according to the contract of March 9, 1809, between the Madras government and Msgr. Raimond, it was meant for the seminary.

152 Zaleski was of opinion that Colonel Macaulay might have considered giving a part of the property of Mathu Tharakan to Msgr. Raimond. The government of Madras, however, decided not to give the property, nor the capital, but only the annual interest (*frutto annuo*) corresponding to the amount of 3000 Star Pagodas as a perpetual loan. See ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 9r.

Raimond on November 17, 1808, expressing his wish[153]. He informed Raimond that he had received the order from the Company to act as he wished.

> I have received the orders to pay when due from my treasury the amount of annual interest payable on the loan of 3000 Star Pagodas made by you[154] to the Honourable Company on account of the Catholic institution of Verapoli and other charitable purposes[155].

The purpose of the amount was shown as: 'it may not at any future period be diverted from the objects for which the principal sum has been now invested and sunk'[156].

Macaulay informed him that the Company agreed to put the sum as Raimond asked, i.e., as a fixed one, so that it could be a source of income in all ages to come[157]. Macaulay also expressed the fact:

> I do therefore on behalf of the British government comply with your request, as that the government is of course only desirous of securing to you the means of allotting and appropriating this charitable fund in the mode that shall appear to you best adapted to fulfill the objects aimed at[158].

In the letter Macaulay mentioned how, in concrete, the money was to be utilized and who should be the patron. With such an intention, he wrote that the loan made by and for the Carmelite mission[159], the annual interest accruing therefrom shall be applied in the following way:

> The whole of the annual interest from this loan to be at the disposition of the pro tempore bishop and apostolic vicar general of Malabar, provides that the said bishop and apostolic vicar general shall be as at present of the Order of barefooted (Discalced) Carmelites, and provided also that in no case shall less than one half of the amount of the interest be annually applied for the specific use of the

153 The letter (To the Very Reverend, the Bishop of Syria and apostolic vicar of Malabar and the vicar of the Catholic Institution of the Carmelite Propaganda Mission at Verapoli) dated November 17, 1808, from Thiruvithamkoor, is given in ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, ff. 21v-23r (a copy). See the letter in *Appendix VII*.

154 The letter states that the payment is to be made by the apostolic vicar. But the amount was granted by the Resident from the property of Tharakan.

155 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 21v.

156 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 22r. The principal object is the maintenance of the seminary; the rest to the pious works. For details see the 'Trust deed' or 'contract' between the English Company and Msgr. Raimond in *Appendix VI*.

157 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 22r.

158 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 22r. See the details in the 'contract'.

159 This phrase is ambiguous. It can be interpreted 'either for the mission or for the seminary'.

> institution of Verapoly—but in case that the bishop and the apostolic vicar general belong at any time to some other religious Order[160] other than that of the barefooted Carmelites, it is declared that in such event the whole amount of the annual interest receivable from this loan shall devolve on and be appropriated by the vicar of the Catholic Instituiton of Verapoli for the time being[161].

4.2.2.3. The contract

Accordingly, as mentioned in the letter of Macaulay, the English government agreed to the proposal of the Resident, i.e., the annual interest corresponding to a sum of 3000 Pagodas should be given to the seminary or institution in the mission of Msgr. Raimond[162]. This donation in the year 1809 was made as a contract between the English Company and the apostolic vicar of Malabar[163]. See the circumstances and its purpose in the contract:

> The said Fr. Raimond as the superior of the said Catholic Institution and Seminary of Verapoli has lately through the Resident of the said United Company at the court of the Rajah of Thiruvithamkoor made application to the Governor in Council of the said Presidency of Fort Saint George for permission to make a perpetual loan to the said united Company of the sum of three thousand Star Pagodas at the usual rate of interest for similar loans, the interest of which to be exclusively applied for the support of the said institution and seminary at Verapoli and for charitable funds[164].

To legalize this donation and to assure its perpetuity, the government declared to put as the debitor of this amount the apostolic vicar Msgr. Raimond and the amount

160 The clause makes clear that the interest of the loan was meant not for the Carmelite Order but for the Seminary. So the argument of some of the Carmelite missionaries (for example, Fr. Candidus, the vicar general of Varapuzha) that the amount should belong to the Carmelite house at Koonamavu has no ground.

161 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, ff. 22r-v.

162 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 18v.

163 The contract was titled: 'The Contract between the Honourable Company and the Titular Bishop of Syria as Superior of the Institution and Seminary at Varapuzha: Declaration as to a perpetual loan of 3000 Pagodas'. "... This Indenture made the seventh day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine between the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies by their Governor of Council of their presidency of Fort Saint George of the one part and the Reverend Fr. Raymond Titular Bishop of Syria and apostolic vicar of Malabar presiding over the Catholic Institution and Seminary of Varapuzha situate within the territories of the Rajah of Thiruvithamkoor of the other part...". ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 18r.

164 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, ff. 18r-v (the contract between the English Company and the apostolic vicar).

as a perpetual loan and is obliged to pay annually the effect of 8%, i.e., 240 Pagodas[165] per annum:[166]

> Which application has been agreed to by the Governor in Council of the said Presidency and the said sum of three thousand Star Pagodas accepted and received into the treasury of the said United Company at Fort Saint George at the rate of eight percent per annum and payable yearly[167].

It was clearly stipulated in the contract that this was meant for the seminary, and not for the mission, for in the words of the contract: "... to Raimond and his successors for the time being of the said institution and seminary at Verapoli ... and if there shall be afterwards any surplus remaining, to and for charitable uses only"[168]. It had also been agreed upon that the Company was not responsible for the misapplication or nonapplication of the 240 Pagodas or of any part[169].

In founding such a source of income for the maintenance of the seminary of Varapuzha, besides the interest of Msgr. Raimond, we see also the concern of the English government—represented by the Resident—in the Syrian Christians of Malabar. Msgr. Stabellini wrote that in the contract between the English Company and Msgr. Raimond, there was the good intention of the government of Madras that the only administrator of the amount was the bishop and, in case of maladministration, the government of Madras could be approached and the Governor then could assign some person to examine the case and to arrange the necessary provisions[170]. The terms of the contract are as follows:

> It is further agreed and declared that if any complaint shall at any time ... be made to the governor in Council of the said Presidency ... of any misapplication or nonapplication ... of the said yearly sum of 240 Star Pagodas or of any part ... or other abuses of the amount, then it shall be lawful to and for the governor ... to summon before them and ... ask of them an explanation ... and after the enquiry ... shall see proper to discontinue the payment of the said amount ... and the governor can do so ... until a proper person duly be appointed to supply his place[171].

165 It is equal to 840 Rupees.

166 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 2r.

167 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 18v.

168 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 19r. See the comment of Msgr. Stabellini on this in APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 500v.

169 See APF, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, f. 20r.

170 APF, *Acta 193*, f. 479r. Regarding the same the report of the General Assembly of September 13, 1830, affirms: "E tanto poi stretto questo contratto, che in esso si dice, che se l'amministratore di questi frutti, che è il solo vescovo, fosse causa di essere male amministrati, e che se a questo riguardo fosse fatto lamento al governo di Madras, il governatore potrebbe destinare persone per esaminare la cosa e provvedere mezzi forti perché venissero in appresso questi frutti bene amministrati".

171 ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, ff. 20r-v.

Msgr. Stabellini informed the Congregation that although this was a mutual contract between the two parties, there were differences of opinion among the ecclesiastics with regard to the nature and purpose of this contract and thereby the use of the effect of the sum[172].

4.3. A new social situation due to a changed government

Malabar witnessed not only a political change, but also a social change due to the intervention of the English power. As did the political change, social change too played a role in shaping the history of the Church of Suriani Catholics.

4.3.1. The English missionaries in Malabar

Although many Christian missionary societies[173] arrived in Malabar in the first years of the nineteenth century, we deal only with the Church Missionary Society, which concentrated its work in Thiruvithamkoor, centering on Kottayam among the Syrian Christians with effects directly on the Syrian Jacobites and indirectly on the Suriani Catholics with positive and negative results. See the words of Fr. Nicolas by which he informed the Fr. General:

172 See APF, *Acta 193*, f. 479r, APF, *SC IO 4*, f. 500v (letter of Msgr. Maurilius Stabellini on February 25, 1828). That is the reason why he asked the Congregation for an explanation of the same. The report shows that this contract between the two parties was a mutual contract and the one who deposited the amount did it for a good purpose and the annual interest was to be utilized for the sole purpose for which it was meant. See APF, *Acta 193*, ff. 479r-v. Zaleski in his study of June 1, 1894, writes that it was a deed of trust (*atto legale*) in the form of a contract. According to the contract, the Company should give the amount to the apostolic vicar (*questa somma annua deve essere pagata a Monsig. Raimondo ed ai suoi successori, superiori pro tempore del Istituto e Seminario*). ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, ff. 4r, 4v.

173 The main Christian missionary Societies in Kerala were the Church Missionary Society, London Missionary Society and Basle Evangelical Mission Society. Among these three, the first concentrated its work in Thiruvithamkoor, with its headquarters at Kottayam. The second one was concentrated in South Thiruvithamkoor, with its headquarters at Nagercoil. Only a small portion of its field is in the present Kerala. The third one's work was mainly in the Canara region (present Karnataka) which included also the North Malabar (consisting of Thalasserry, Kannoor [Cannanore] and Kozhikod). So in fact, the second and third societies cannot be spoken of as Malabar (Kerala) missions. The principal propagandists of the London Missionary Society were James Russel, Whitehouse, Lewis and Baylis, and of the Basle Evangelical Society Kies and Hermann Gundert.

> Recently there arrived in India, particularly in Malabar, many English missionaries who search for conversion into their group and with such a purpose they started English schools. They printed the four gospels in many languages[174].

4.3.1.1. The Church Missionary Society and the Jacobite bishops

Since the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society arrived at Kottayam with the permission of the Madras government, they found no difficulty to work in Thiruvithamkoor. They began to concentrate their mission work among the Syrian Christians of Malabar or Thiruvithamkoor and they found that the Catholic section of the Syrian Christians was ruled by Padroadists and Propagandists and the non-Catholic group of the Thomas Christians was governed by the native church leaders. While the former had a certain stable, organized development, the latter often met with many problems either of jurisdictional, theological or political nature. The missionaries regarded "this Syrian Church as a primitive Church corrupted by contact with the Roman Catholic tenets and they wished to remove all ritual and doctrine which could not be brought to the test of the rule of Scripture"[175]. So the missionaries decided to bring the Syrians up by imparting new education.

4.3.1.1.1. The situation of the non-Catholic Syrian Christians

The instability and incompetency of rule in the Syrian Church affected the growth of this Church negatively. Mar Thomas VI (Dionysius I)[176] died in 1808 and in the same year Mar Thomas VII took charge of the Church and died in 1809 before he could appoint a successor for himself. Some affirm that his successor, later known as Mar Thomas VIII, received episcopal ordination at the deathbed of Mar Thomas VII[177]. As long as the British Resident Macaulay was in office, Mar Thomas VIII was acknowledged as the real ecclesiastical head of the Malankara Church (Jacobites). Later in 1810 when Colonel Munro took charge as the Resident, accusations of the opponents

174 APF, *SC IO* 2, f. 212r, "Sono presentamente venuti nell'Indie, e particolarmente nel Malabar molti missionari inglesi, i quali cercano far conversioni per la loro setta, e per ottenere l'intento hanno stabilito scuole di lingue inglese, loro stampano 4 evangeli in diverse lingue e migliaie di copie".

175 NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual II*, 214.

176 His reunion with the Catholic Church is described in chapter 1, pp. 38-45.

177 See PHILIP, *Indian Church*, 200; BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 370.

of Mar Thomas VIII gained more weight. Mar Thomas always wished to have juridical dependence on the Antiochean Patriarch[178]. He was against the intervention of the English missionaries in Malankara and against the anglicanizing tendency. Mar Thomas ruled till 1815 and, before he died, appointed his nephew as his successor to be known as Mar Thomas IX[179].

The government of the Church was transferred from Mar Thomas IX to Mar Dionysius II[180], who (formerly known as Ramban Joseph Pulikot) was the head of the opponent party which held the anglicanizing tendency. Mar Dionysius II did not want to establish any relation with the Jacobite Patriarch, but was consecrated bishop in 1815 by Mar Philexinos, the native bishop of Anjoor. He was recognized as the true Metropolitan of the Syrian Community in January 1816[181]. This Royal Decree was issued under the pressure of the English power, which was anxious to check the intervention of the Antiochean Patriarch in the affairs of the Malankara Church. From this time onwards the civil authorities began to intervene in the ecclesiastical matters, especially with regard to the recognition of the Malankara Metropolitan[182].

Mar Dionysius II died in 1818, without having been able to appoint a successor[183]. Finding this vacancy an excellent opportunity to establish his claim over the Malankara Church, Mar Philexinos II of Thozhiur[184] took upon himself the charge of the community and styled himself the Malankara Metropolitan. But Mar Philexinos II had soon to consecrate *Malpan* Gevarghese Punnathura as the Malankara Metropolitan,

178 MALANCHARUVIL, *Syro-Malankara Church*, 42.

179 See PHILIP, *Indian Church*, 202.

180 In taking over the office from Mar Thomas IX and getting his consecration from Mar Philexinos, Mar Dionysius had the support of the British Resident through the English missionaries. Mar Dionysius favoured the ideas of the Protestant missionaries.

181 PHILIP, *Indian Church*, 205.

182 MALANCHARUVIL, *Syro-Malankara Church*, 44.

183 NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manuel II*, 214.

184 Mar Philexinos II of Thozhiyur was from the descendant line of Mar Cyril who was consecrated by Mar Gregorios in 1772 as a rival to Mar Dionysius I. Mar Cyril appointed his brother as his successor in the name of Mar Cyril II, who was followed by Mar Philexinos I. It was he who consecrated and appointed Mar Philexinos II.

Mar Dionysius III[185]. The civil government issued a decree, confirming Mar Dionysius III in his position and Mar Philexinos II had to withdraw to the Church of Thozhiyur.

Mar Dionysius I, II, III wanted to have an independent Malanakra Church in Kerala, without any dependence on the Antiochean Patriarch and without intervention by the English missionaries. But towards the end of his rule, Mar Dionysius III in 1821 wrote to the President of the Church Missionary Society, Lord Gambier, that he was the Metropolitan of the Syro-Malankara Jacobites under Mar Ignatius, the Patriarch of Antioch. It is clear that though Mar Dionysius III in the first years of his reign was cherishing the hope of good relations with the missionaries[186], later realized that communion with the Protestants would endanger the Orthodox faith and the integrity of the rite[187].

On May 16, 1825, Mar Dionysius III died[188] unexpectedly, without having consecrated his successor. Thereupon the people selected three candidates, and from among them *Malpan* Philipose was chosen to receive the episcopal consecration. He was consecrated as the Malankara Metropolitan by name Dionysius IV in 1825 by Philexinos II[189]. During his time there arose many problems regarding the authority of the Antiochean Patriarch in Malankara. Mar Athanasius, sent by the Patriarch, created a party and tried to depose Mar Dionysius IV as well as Mar Philexinos II of Anjoor. In addition, he began to introduce Antiochean customs, abolishing the existing traditions. The government interfered and expelled him from Malankara in 1825[190].

185 See NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual II*, 214.

186 Mr. Mackenzie writes: "Mar Dionysius III was well disposed towards the English missionaries, handing over to them the college which which the Syrians, with the aid of Rani, had erected at Kottayam and permitting the missionaries to teach and preach in the Syrian churches". NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual II*, 214.

187 He then wrote to the Antiochean Patriarch to send a Jacobite prelate to the Malankara Church. Thus in 1825 Mar Athanasius, a bishop from Antioch and Ramban Abraham were sent to Malankara.

188 TISSERANT, *Eastern Christianity*, 147.

189 BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christians*, 376.

190 HOWARD, *Christians of St.Thomas*, 78.

4.3.1.1.2. Rev. Claudius Buchanan

In 1800s, Rev. Claudius Buchanan[191], an English clergyman who was the chaplain of the English East India Company, visited South India. He arrived in Malabar in 1806,[192] also visited Varapuzha and spoke with Msgr. Raimond. But his works among the Catholics were not favoured by the bishop[193], although he showed great interest in the Syrian Church and was ready to help to improve its condition[194]. He translated the Bible and also the Liturgy into Malayalam[195]. He persuaded the Syrian Church to establish parish schools for the education of the children[196].

191 He was the vice-Provost of the Fort William College at Calcutta. Though Dr. Claudius Buchanan is considered as the pioneer of Christian missions in Kerala, or the beginning of the Christian missions in Thiruvithamkoor is said to have begun with the visit of Buchanan, Mr. Kerr visited Malabar before Buchanan. In 1805 the government of Madras sent Mr. Kerr, one of their chaplains, to investigate the Malabar Church and to make a report on it. But Mr. Kerr did not go below the surface and his report throws no light on the history of these Christians. See NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual II*, 211.

192 See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 223r. The arrival of Buchanan in Malabar and his impressions and experiences were given in KEAY, *History of the Syrian Church*, 68; SHERRING, *Protestant Missions*, 309-312; RAE, *Syrian Church*, 281-284.

193 NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual II*, 196.

194 The aim of the Anglican Missionaries has been interpreted in many ways. Many see the plan of reform in front. George Milne Rae is of opinion that the object was "to reform without disintegrating the Syrian Church, to help it in fact to reform itself from within". "The business of the Society's missionaries", as one said of themselves, "is not to pull down the ancient Syrian Church and to build another on some plan of their own out of the materials, but is to remove the rubbish, and to repair the decayed places of the existing Church. We are but advisers and helpers and instructors of such as are willing to hear". Their policy, said another, was to "alter as little as possible, so that the character and individuality of the Church might be preserved". See RAE, *Syrian Church*, 285.

G.T. Mackenzie sets out the intentions of the Anglican missionaries. He says that the missionaries also had the intention to remove those Catholic tenets entered into the Syrian Christian belief through the Portuguese missionaries. See NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual II*, 214-215.

195 Buchanan in his *Christian Researches in Asia* writes: "Most of the manuscripts which I collected among the Syrian Christians, I have presented to the University of Cambridge; and they are now deposited in the Public Library of that University, together with the copper-plate facsimiles of the Christian and Jewish Tablets". BUCHANAN, *Christian Researches*, 142-143.

196 See KEAY, *History of the Syrian Church*, 68.

The various notes or letters[197] which he wrote during his stay in different places in Kerala are of great importance, since they are the present existing valuable documents regarding the social, political, cultural and ecclesiastical situation of Malabar at the beginning of nineteenth century.

After the visit of Buchanan in Malabar, the British Resident requested that more missionaries of the Church Missionary Society be sent to Malabar through the British government in India. Rev. Thomas Norton visited Malabar in 1816. In the same year, the first Anglican bishop in India, Bishop Middleton visited Kollam on April 6, 1816[198], and also Msgr. Raimond, the apostolic vicar[199].

4.3.1.1.3. The first triumvirate of English missionaries to the Syrian Church

Benjamin Bailey (1816), Joseph Fenn (1818) and Henry Baker (1819) were the first missionaries[200] who worked among the Syrians. Bailey, besides devoting his time to the Syrian clergy, plunged into literary work. He set up a press at Kottayam, translated the Bible and the English Prayer Book into Malayalam, and brought out two Malayalam dictionaries. Baker's work was in connection with education. He started village schools in about seventy-two different places where there were Syrian congregations. A school for higher education was established at Kottayam. The Seminary at Kottayam for the training of the Syrian clergy was placed under the supervision of Joseph Fenn. The instruction which was given was not only theological but included the elements of a general education. Latin, Greek and Syriac were taught. It was

197 The first letter was written on October 19, 1806, during his one week stay at the palace of Thiruvananthapuram where the Rajah resided. In this letter he described his impressions on seeing the existence of very ancient Christian community in Malabar. The second letter was written on November 10, 1806, from Chenganoor, a church of the Syrian Christians. He was much impressed to see the mountains full of forests and the woods which produced many spices. In this letter he explained the style of the church buildings in Malabar. His experiences of meeting with the Syrian *cassanars* (priests) is narrated here. He visited some other places too which were important Syrian Christian centers such as Ranniel [Ranni] (November 12), Kandanad (November 23), Udayamperoor (in December), Kodungalloor (December 9), Varapuzha and Angamaly (January 1807). For details see BUCHANAN, *Christian Researches*, 111-142.

198 KEAY, *History of the Syrian Church*, 70.

199 NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual II*, 196.

200 NAGAM AIYA, *Travancore State Manual II*, 214.

arranged with the *Metran* that all persons seeking ordination must have worked through the regular course of study at the college and have made satisfactory progress[201].

Then more missionaries came: In 1820 Rev. James Hough[202]; Bishop Middelton made a third visit to Malabar in 1821; Dr. Mill in 1821 and Mackworth in 1823. Although Pulikott Dionysius (1817-1818) was a little suspicious at the beginning, later he gave every encouragement, and Punnathura Dionysius [Dionysius III] (1818-1827) whole-heartedly backed up the efforts of the missionaries. With the time of his successor, Cheppat Philip [Dionysius IV] (1827-1852), difficulties began to arise.

The happy relations between the Syrian Church and the missionaries began to fade due to many reasons[203]. When Colonel Munro left the country, the Anglican missionaries lost a good portion of their influence. Fenn retired from India in 1826; in 1830 Bailey and in 1834 Baker went on leave due to ill-health. Some old missionaries wanted to introduce a new system of procedure and to begin an independent mission. The new missionaries were neither experienced nor had they the patience of the older men. The new missionaries, Joseph Peet who arrived in 1833, and W.J. Woodcock who came in the middle of 1834, came from England when the Oxford Movement was causing a stir[204]. It was only at the end of 1834 that Bailey and Baker returned, and during their absence relations between the missionaries and the *Metran* had begun to be strained. With the Mavelikara Synod[205] of 1836 the Syrian Christians dissolved all connections with the Church Mission[206].

201 See the works of the missionaries in TISSERANT, *Eastern Christianity*, 146.

202 Hough was the author of the famous 'History of Christianity in India'.

203 In the year 1825 the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch sent to India a bishop named Mar Athanasius. At Bombay, Bishop Heber, Anglican Bishop of Calcutta, who had succeeded Bishop Middleton, received him with great kindness and friendship. But when Mar Athanasius arrived in Thiruvithamkoor, Dionysius did not accept him and thereby many difficulties arose as a result of which he was expelled by the Resident.

The missionaries had shown their sympathy with the local *Metran* in the trouble through which they were passing. But they had nothing to do with the action which the Resident, Colonel Newall, took in expelling Mar Athanasius. In spite of this, some of the Syrian clergy, who were opposed to reform, spread reports that the missionaries were responsible for the expulsion, and that they were the enemies of the Patriarch of Antioch. See KEAY, History of Syrian Church, 77-78.

204 For details on the Oxford Movement see the autobiography of Cardinal Newman titled *Loss and Gain. Story of a convert* wrote from Rome in the year 1847.

205 The Mavelikara Synod was convened in January 1836. It was attended by Mar Dionysius, Mar Cyril of Thozhiyur, and more than 50 *Cathanars* and by a number of lay people. The resolution adopted by the synod amounted to a categorical denial of any need for change and a total repudiation of all that the

4.3.1.2. Catholic missionaries against the English missionaries

The apostolic vicars and the missionaries of Varapuzha could sense the danger in the teachings and preaching of the Anglican missionaries. Although their intention was, as they said, to improve the social and educational situations of the Syrian Christians, they were also aiming at the conversion of the Jacobites to Protestantism. Though their work was concentrated among the Syrian Jacobites, there was also danger for the Catholic Syrians. Many writings of the apostolic vicars and missionaries show that the Carmelite missionaries were against the teaching of the English missionaries. As Fr. Nicolas stated: "I wrote to all the churches either Syrian or Latin in the apostolic vicariate prohibiting the faithful to read these gospels printed by the English missionaries"[207]. The Carmelite missionaries found fault with the governors of Kochi and Kodungalloor who did not take any action against the preaching of the English missionaries in Malabar[208].

They complained that the Jacobite bishops were supported by the Residents, and that the Anglican missionaries and the Jacobite bishops were ruling with the help of the Protestants. Clearly Colonel Munro was very good to the Jacobites and the Carmelite missionaries found danger in the appointment of Protestants as the judges of the civil court, a situation that that was a great harm for the Catholics[209]. Although they worked hard in Malabar, as the Carmelite documents show, very few of the Syrians became Protestants[210].

missionaries had tried to do. For the full text of the resolution see CHERIYAN, *Malabar Christians*, 390-391.

The operative clauses are the following: "We, the Jacobite Syrians, being subject to the supremacy of the Patriarch of Antioch, and observing, as we do, the liturgies and ordinances instituted by the prelates sent under his command, cannot deviate from such liturgies and maintain a discipline contrary thereto .... For this reason we do not follow any faith or teaching other than the orthodox faith of the Jacobite Syrian Christians, to the end that we may obtain salvation through the prayers of the ever happy, holy and ever blessed Mother of God, the redresser of all complaints and through the prayers of all Saints" (quoted in NEIL, *History of Christianity*, 247).

206 Although the Syrians severed all connection with the Church Missionary Society, a group of the Syrians influenced by the Anglican teaching, openly abbandoned the Syrian rite and became members of the Church of England.

207 APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 212r.

208 See APF, *SC IO 2*, f. 212r.

209 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 362v.

210 See APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 362v.

Msgr. Prendergast, while writing to the Prefect of Propaganda on November 1, 1822, mentioned the danger of the presence of the Protestant missionaries in Malabar. He wrote:

> An English Protestant, Dr. Buchanan, wrote a book full of lies and falsity with devilish proofs, against our holy religion in general and in particular against our Holy Father, which will be translated in Portuguese and will be spread soon in whole Malabar[211].

While speaking about the teachings of the English missionaries he wrote:

> Besides the exposed lies, he [Buchanan] pretends to prove that all the churches in Malabar were Nestorian schismatics. Therefore, I have the obligation to refute it showing the venom in those teachings of the author and proving the truth in favour of the Catholics[212].

Thus the Carmelite missionaries were on guard against the spread of Protestantism among the Suriani Catholics.

211 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 581r, "Un Padre Protestante Inglese Dot. Buccanan scrisse un libro pieno di menzogna e falsità con prove diaboliche contra la nostra Santa Religione in generale, e particolare contro il N.S. Padre, quale libro sara tradotto in portoghese, e sara disseminato brevemente in tutto il Malabar".

212 APF, *SC IO 3*, f. 581r, "Fuori di altre bugie esposte, pretende provare che tutte le chiese del Malabar erano di scismatici Nestoriani. Stimo mia obligazione confutarlo... dimostrando il veleno dell'autore, e provando la verità in favore di cattolici".

CHAPTER 5

The Suppression of Padroado

The Roman struggle to liberate the Church under the Portuguese Padroado jurisdiction from the unnecessary demands of an anachronistic existence in India based on the old Portuguese regalism, although there was strong opposition—even to the extent of the so-called Goan Schism[1]—in the Padroado circles, it ended the jurisdictional conflicts in the Church of the Suriani Catholics between the declining Padroado and the demanding Propaganda.

[1] This is called 'Goan Schism' (known also as 'Indo-Portuguese schism') as its proponents and adherents were the Padroado clergy, either Portuguese or Indian, centered in Goa. Unlike Goa, Madras and Calcutta, Malabar was the least affected by this schism. The explicit denial of *Multa praeclare* and the consequent disobedience to the Pope made it a schism. See APF, *Acta 202*, f. 185r. The background of the brief and reason for the opposition on the part of the Padroado clergy is described in APF, *Acta 196*, ff. 343r-345v; APF, *Acta 199*, ff. 236r-240v; APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 300r-305r. The opposition to the brief and the subsequent troubles are given in APF, *Acta 202*, ff. 184r-186r.

Commenting on the 'Goan Schism' Fr. Giacomo Martina wrote: "Il patronato, concepito inizialmente come un mezzo per favorire la religione, si trasformo in uno strumento di cui il Portogallo si serviva per mantenere il suo influsso politico nei domini di altre potenze. Coll' Ottocento, esso si era ridotto a un peso morto, a un inciampo, e dette occasione al lungo scisma di Goa". MARTINA, *Chiesa*, 241-242. After having described the situation of Portugal, Fr. Josef Metzler wrote: "Jetzt ging die Kongregation dazu über, die Jurisdiktion der Patronatsbischöfe einzuschränken und Patronatsdiözesen vom Papst ganz aufheben zu lassen. Das brachte eine Verschärfung der Patronatskontroverse, die im sogenannten 'Schisma von Goa' ihren Höhepunkt erreiche". METZLER, *Propaganda und Missionspatronat*, 233-234. As the aim of our study is the how and why of the suppression of Padroado we do not treat the Goan Schism as it only slightly affects the Suriani Catholic Church. For the details on Goan Schism see NCE, *Goan Schism*, 533-534. See also ARSI, *Goa 30*, ff. 194r-222r (*Il breve Multa praeclare e lo scisma goano [Indo-Portoghese]*). This is study made by Fr. Lorenzo Lucinelli, sj, on August 10, 1852, on the nature of the Portuguese patronage (ff. 127r-201v) and the necessity of the execution of the brief *Multa praeclare*, the meaninglessness of the objection of the schismatics against the brief and the modes of executing the decisions of the brief (ff. 202r-222r). The nature and extent of this schism are described by Fr. Jarrige, apostolic missionary at Pondicherry, in a report which he sent to Msgr. O'Connor, the apostolic vicar of Madras, dated July 19, 1838. See this study in APF, *SOCG 955*, ff. 443-447.

5.1. Need of new provisions in the Padroado dioceses in India

The desolate situation of the Church in India under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Padroado in the first decades of the nineteenth century, as the letter dated February 7, 1832[2], of Cardinal Pedicini, the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, to the king of Portugal showed, necessitated the intervention of Rome to provide for the needs of the faithful in those dioceses. The inefficient and unwelcome Padroado ecclesiastics not only overlooked the spiritual care of the faithful, but also produced either none or sometimes contrary effects[3]. Seeing the awkard and dismal situation of the Catholic Church in the Padroado dioceses of Kodungalloor, Kochi and Mylapur

[2] Sensing the difficult situation of the Church in India, especially through the letters of the apostolic vicars of Malabar, Bombay and Thibet, Cardinal Carlo M. Pedicini, the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide presented a *memoria* dated February 7, 1832, to Marquis Lauradio, the ambassador of Portugal to Holy See. See APF, *Lettere 313*, f. 122v. (*Il Cardinal Prefetto della Propaganda si fa un dovere di trasmettere all' E.V. una memoria relativa ai vacanti vescovadi dell' Indie Orientali...*). In this *memoria* Cardinal Pedicini gave a picture of the desolate situation of the missions in the dioceses of Kodungalloor, Kochi and Mylapur in India. Herein the cardinal informed the ambassador that the various reports of the apostolic vicars in India showed the necessity of approaching the king of Portugal, requesting him to see to the need of the spiritual care of the Catholics in the missions in India. See this *memoria* in APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 400r-405v or APF, *Lettere 313*, ff. 123r-134v.

This *memoria* was prepared in the light of the discussion made in the General Assembly of Propaganda held on September 13, 1830, on the occasion of evaluating the situation of Church in Malabar in the face of the fishermen controversy. See reference to this in APF, *Acta 195*, f. 62r (*una nota fatta al ministro di Portogallo sul jus patronatus nelle Indie Orientali*). See the comment of Josef Metzler about this document: "Das ganze document zeugt von der Sorge der Kongregation um das indische Missionsproblem". METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 393.

Then in the General Assembly of September 19, 1836, Cardinal Sala referred to this *memoria* which had already been sent to Marquis Lauradio on February 7, 1832, telling that the Congregation had not yet received any answer to the same. See the words of Acta: "... che l' Emo Sig. Cardinale Pedicini, allora Prefetto scrivesse in data 7 Febbraio 1832 una lunga nota ragionata al Sig. Marchese Lauradio, insinuandogli di sottomettere al suo Sovrano l'importanza, che la S. Congregazione provvedesse opportunamente ai bisogni della religione nelle diocesi di Cranganor, Coccino e Meliapor. Non si sono avute risposte a detta nota, e si conoscono le funeste vicende, che le hanno forse impedite". APF, *Acta 199*, f. 240v.

[3] See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 126r. This is a letter written by the Catholic inhabitants (mostly the English soldiers) of Calcutta dated June 20, 1833, to the Prefect of Propaganda describing the inefficiency of the Portuguese clergy in India, especially in Calcutta. See this letter in APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 126r-129r. They informed the cardinal that as the Protestant missionaries were propagating their tenets with all force, the Catholic clergy due to their inefficiency could do anything either to check them or to take good care of the Catholic faithful in Calcutta.

(Meliapur)[4], the apostolic vicars of these regions[5] wrote to the Congregation of Propaganda explaining the urgent need of prompt action[6].

5.1.1. The deplorable state of the Catholic Church under the Padroado jurisdiction

From the beginning of the nineteenth century the vacant Padroado dioceses[7] of Kodungalloor, Kochi and Mylapur were put under the immediate jurisdiction of the archbishop of Goa[8]. It was impractical and ineffective to rule the whole Church in India centralizing on Goa[9]. The immense area to be cared for under the archdiocese of Goa, as Cardinal Pedicini held, was one of the reasons for the extermination of Catholicism in those regions. In the words of the cardinal:

4 In the beginning of the nineteenth century there were four Padroado dioceses in India: Goa, Kodungalloor (Cranganor), Kochi (Cochin) and Mylapur (Meliapur), of which Goa was the metropolitan see. See APF, *Acta 200*, f. 341v.

5 There were then in India three apostolic vicariates: Malabar, Great Mogul (Bombay) and Thibet-Hindsutan or Agra. For the details on the territorial extension of these vicariates see METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 390-391; APF, *Acta 199*, f. 240v.

6 See APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 400r. Note the words in the letter of the cardinal: "Il quadro infelice e del tutto desolante delle varie missioni sparse nelle diocesi di Cranganor, di Cochin, e di Meliapur risultante dalle relazioni dei Vicarii Apostolici a quelle diocesi...".

7 The archdiocese of Kodungalloor from 1750 till 1838 had one archbishop only in the 26 years; from 1777 onwards no more archbishop except for a period of eleven months. Kochi from 1800 onwards had no bishop. Mylapur from 1759 till 1838, a period of 32 years had one bishop; from 1800 onwards the see was vacant. See the words of the report of the General Assembly of September 19, 1836: "... da lungo tempo non esiste in tutta l'India neppur un vescovo Portoghese, non in Goa, non in Cranganor, non in Cochin, non in Meliapur, non in Malaca (o Timor), non in Macao". APF, *Acta 199*, f. 253r. See also APF, *Acta 199*, f. 239v. The letter of Cardinal Pedicini reads thus: "un altro disordine che mette il colmo alle sciagure di quel povero cattolicismo vuolsi senza dubbio alcuno repetere dalla vacanza lunghissima di quelle chiese". APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 403v.

8 See APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 400v. The Portuguese Padroado failed to produce in time the necessary and apt ecclesiastics in the Padroado sees in India. See the words of Josef Metzler: "Von jeher war es für den Patronatsherrn nicht leicht gewesen Kanditaten für die Bischöfsitze zu finden. Meist standen Ordensleute an der Spitze der indischen Patronatskirche. Die Zwei Suffragansitze und die Erzdiözese Cranganor waren oftmals jahre-und jahrzentlange verwaist". METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 389.

9 See APF, *Lettere 313*, f. 125r. In a letter written in 1818 by the bishop of Malaca, there was the mention about the difficulty of communication with Goa and the detriment of religion in India due to the particular situation of Padroado in India. See AHU, *RMI Maço 185* (unnumbered fasc.). By this time the metropolitan of Goa, Manuel de S. Galdino died on July 15, 1831. Details on him are found in AHU, *RMI Maço*

> This geographical picture[10] of the metropolitan territory of the primate archbishop of Goa, while presenting an extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction without example, makes known the first and the principal cause of all disorders, which menances the total extermination of Catholicism in India[11].

Although the ecclesiastical territory was very vast, politically the Portuguese dominion was made to the least, owing to the establishment of the English supremacy in India[12].

218 (a letter dated January 25, 1823). This letter shows: "o caracter todo revoltozo, e despotico do arcebispo desta diocese. Este arcebispo logo qhe foy collocado neste arcebispado, deo principio ao seo despotismo... continuados recursos se promoverão contro elle, que os parrocos, frades e huma grande parte de outros individuos dirigirão a bellacão; como unico meizo que lhes restava para reprimir se-melhantes procedimento... e remover d' aqui este arcebispo dando-nos hum prelado pacifico e menos orgulhozo" (unnumbered fasc.). From then onwards the administration was done by the vicar capitulars. See METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 389. That is also one of the reasons why the Prefect of Propaganda wrote to the ambassador to inform the king of Portugal of the situation of the Church in India. The cardinal feared that if no necessary provision would be made, the Catholics might beecome prey to other Christian sects (he meant, the Anglican Church) or Hindus. See APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 400r-v.

10 Besides the dioceses of Kodungalloor, Kochi and Mylapur, the metropolitan archbishop of Goa had to superintend many other ecclesiastical territories outside India too. For example, the South Coast of Africa, Mozambique, Mambaca, Zanzibar, etc. See the detail in APF, *Lettere 313*, ff. 124v-125r.

11 APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 401r, "Questo quadro geografico del territorio metropolitano dell'arcivescovo primate di Goa, nel mentre ci presenta una estensione di giurisdizione ecclesiastica senza esempio, insieme ne fa conoscere la prima e principale sorgenti di tutti i disordini, che minaciano il totale esterminio del cattolicesimo nelle Indie".

12 The English power which had taken foot in India, already established their supremacy centering on Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Their coming up and taking dominion conquering the Portuguese political supremacy in India, reduced the Portuguese power to very limited areas, viz, Goa, Daman and Diu. See the description of the extension of the Portuguese dominion in India in the report of the General Assembly of Propaganda Fide on September 19, 1836, based on the letter of Msgr. Francis Xavier, the apostolic vicar of Malabar, dated August 29, 1835: "Le terre che dopo tante conquiste nell'India rimasero fino al di d' oggi ai Portoghesi sono le seguenti. 1. Nella costa occidentale. La piccola isola di Goa colle sue vicinanze, ha circa 40 miglia di lunghezza, e dal mare ai monti 12 miglia di larghezza con un popolazione di 150,000 anime. 2. Damao o Damam. Il suo territorio è di 4 miglia di lungo e 2 in largo. E diocesi di Goa. 3. Allo stesso grado di latitudine, ma alla punta opposta del Golfo di Cambaja, vi è Diu. Anche quest paese è diocesi di Goa. 4. Nelle isole Moluche verso i gradi 9 di latitudine meridionale, i Portoghesi hanno un piccolo pezzo dell' isola chiamata Timor. E diocesi di Malacca, il cui vescovo, scacciato dalla sua sede dagli Olandesi, ando a stare in Timor; per lo che si chiamo il vescovo di Timor. 5. Nella costa della Cina verso i gradi 22 vi è Macao piccola isola appartenente ai Cinesi, i quali hanno permesso ai Portoghesi di fabbricarvi una piccola città fortificata sul porto per comodo di negoziare colla Cina. Questa città è titolo e sede di un vescovo. Fuora di sudetti paesi, al giorno di oggi i Portoghesi non possessono neppur un palmo di terra in tutta l'India, anzi in tutta l'Asia". APF, *Acta 199*, f. 240r. The decadence of the Portuguese and the advancing of the English power in India is described in AHU, *RMI Maço 178* (unnumbered fasc.).

Against their right of patronage the Portuguese could not fulfill their obligations for the provision and maintenace of their dioceses in India[13].

Besides the territorial vastness, the lack of seminaries for the formation of clergy too was a great problem, as shown in the letter of Cardinal Pedicini[14], who held that:

> Each well-run diocese has a seminary and a chapter, both of which are necessary for a diocese as recommended by the canons of Trent.... In any of the dioceses including even the archdiocese of Goa there was no seminary and there was also no chapter in these dioceses except one in Goa[15].

13 See APF, *Acta 199*, ff. 239r-v. See the words of the report of the General Assembly of September 19, 1836: "... l'arme principale messa in opera degli Agostiniani è il patronato del Re di Portogallo nei vescovadi delle Indie.... In proposito di cio, non può negarsi che la Sede Apostolica in riguardo dei meriti, che i Re Fedelissimi avevano circa l'erezione de quelle Sedi Vescovili, e l'onesto mantenimento dei vescovi.... Cio peraltro non era un titolo di semplice onore, ma portava seco anche non tenui pesi: Dovevano i Re di Portogallo badare, che le vacanze delle sudette Sedi Vescovili, non fossero diuturne, e dovevano pagare vistose pensioni ai Vescovi di quelle Sedi. Da quanto tempo però quelle Sedi tanto siani vacanti". See also APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 403r and APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 127r-v. The situation in which the Padroado jurisdictionists found it difficult to provide for the needs of the Church in India is expressed in the words of Fr. Martina: "Se nel cinquecento il patronato aveva potuto, fra stridenti contraddizioni e non senza forti limiti, costituire un certo aiuto per le missioni, ora, scomparso il dominio coloniale portoghese, profondamente cambiata la visione generale della vita, col trionfo anche a Lisbona delle idee illuministiche, liberali, largamente laicistiche ed anticlericali, il controllo dello stato sulla chiesa dall'India alla Cina era considerato essenzialmente uno strumento per reaffermare l'anticha grandezza, e finiva per costruire un fortissimo ostaclolo alla vita stessa della chiesa". MARTINA, *Pio IX*, 378. The seizure of power in Portugal by the Freemasons after the revolution of 1821 produced a negative result in the life of the Church. But with the accession of Dom Miguel in 1829 the Church was given freedom and a privileged position. See JEDIN, *History of the Church VII*, 131-132. With the deposition of Dom Miguel in 1833 by Dom Pedro, with the help of England, Spain and France there followed a seven-year persecution of the Church.

14 See APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 402v. Accordingly he wrote about the necessity of establishing new seminaries and new religious orders in the regions under the Padroado jurisdiction. See the details in APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 402v-403r.

15 APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 401v, "Ogni ben ordinata diocesi ha un seminario ed un capitolo, due istituzioni al sommo salutari e racommandate dai sagri Canoni, ed in specie dal Concilio di Trento.... In niuna della diocesi compresa anche quella di Goa vi è aperto un seminario, e in quanto ai capitoli un solo ne esiste in Goa mentre le altre tre ne sono sprovviste". The danger of not having enough priests for the formation of the faithful was well-expressed in the letter of the cardinal. See the details in APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 401v-402v.

Besides the scarcity of priests, Cardinal Pedicini also showed that the advantages which the ecclesiastical power was enjoying under the Portuguese dominion were no more[16]. The Portuguese Padroado who had missionary work as their duty lacked the missionaries to be employed field. The cardinal wrote: "Except the island of Goa, in the dioceses of Kochi, Kodungalloor and Mylapur and in the vicariates in the coast of Africa there were no missionaries employed in these religious corporations"[17].

Although the situation in the Padroado dioceses was unfortunate[18], the state of the Churches headed by the apostolic vicars, as Propaganda was informed, was satisfactory[19]. The report of the General Assembly of Propaganda Fide of July 9, 1833, showed that Malabar, Bombay and Thibet presented a satisfactory picture[20]. So after having exposed the the difficult situation of the Church under the Padroado sees in India, the Prefect of Propaganda informed the king of Portugal that it was necessary to repair the situation of the Church in India. He also proposed the means to do so[21].

16 He wrote: "La potestà ecclesiastica perde tutto il vantaggio, di cui godeva sotto il Dominio Portoghese, che per essere cattolico e zelante per il dilatamento della Cattolica Religione prestava tuto il braccio ai vescovi, e tutti i mezzi addatati a render utile il loro ministero". APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 403r.

17 APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 403r, "Se si eccettui la sola Isola di Goa e gli altri piccoli possessi rimasti ai Portoghesi ove ancora esistono Corporazioni Religiose tutto il rimanente dell'immenso paese compreso nell'arcivescovado di Cranganor, vescovado di Coccino e Meliapur, come anche i Vicariati nella spiaggia dell'Africa soggetti immediatamente all'arcivescovo di Goa mancano affatto di missionari addetti a Corporazioni Religiose". He, therefore, concluded that the culture of the Catholics was abandoned to the indigenous priests. The difficulties due to the lack of missionaries in India is seen in APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 127r-128r. Note the report with regard to the scarce number of missionaries employed in India in a letter dated December 6, 1809, from Goa. See AHU, *RMI Maço 186* (unnumbered fasc.).

18 See APF, *Lettere 313*, f. 122v; APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 126r.

19 See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 344r. The report of the General Assembly of July 9, 1833, shows: "Si sa per esperienza che in quelle parti delle Indie, nelle quali al governo ecclesiastico presiede un vescovo vicario apostolico, le cose della Religione regolarmente procedono".

20 It reads thus: "E noto quindi che nel Malabar, ove risiede il proprio Vicario Apostolico gli affari ecclesiastici sono nel giusto sistema". The report then refers also to the situation of the Church in the apostolic vicariates of Great Mogol and of Thibet-Hindustan. See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 344r.

21 The means he put forward were the following: "una circoscrizione più proporzionata di Territori Diocesani, che dividesse tra un numero maggiore di Ordinari quell'immenso Territorio ora governato da quattro soli Ordinari, la erezione dei Seminari, la formazione dei Capitoli, istituzioni comandate sia dalle Bolle spedite dalla Santa Sede nella erezione di quelle diocesi, la introduzioni di Corporazioni Religiose, questi sarebbero i mezzi riconosciuti coll'esperienza i più convenienti a formare e stabilire il cattolicesimo". APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 404r.

5.1.1.1. Ineffectiveness of the work of the Padroado clergy

The ecclesiastics whom Padroado produced, either Portuguese or native, were not only insufficient but could not fulfill the obligations due to their offices[22]. The letter of Msgr. Francis Xavier, the apostolic vicar of Malabar, of December 28, 1835[23], showed clearly that the activities of the clergy in the Padroado jurisdiction were not satisfactory[24]. The Acta of the General Assembly of September 19, 1836, reported:

> It is necessary to put an end to the scandalous persecution which the Portuguese for 300 years did to the ministers of the Holy See in the propagation, conservation and increase of the Christian religion in India[25].

The situaton of the Catholic church in Calcutta was very pathetic[26]. The letter which Msgr. Mitchie sent to Msgr. Bramston[27], the apostolic vicar of London, men-

22 Fr. Paulo Antonio Dias who was elected vicar capitular of Goa on January 17, 1835, was in good terms with Propaganda. As he was lenient towards the policy of Propaganda he was disliked by Portugal, and in 1836 Lisbon sent Fr. Antonio Feliciano a St. Rita Carvalho to take the metropolitan see of Goa. Although not recognized by Rome, he made himself known as *Arcebispo Eleito de Goa, Primaz do Oriente*. See METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 389. For the difficult situation in India due to the lack of clergy see APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 401v-402r. (letter of Cardinal Pedicini on February 7, 1832). See also APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 126r.

23 This letter was sent to the Prefect of Propaganda. See this letter in APF, *Acta 199*, ff. 253v-255r and APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 394r-395v.

24 See APF, *Acta 199*, f. 254r. Msgr. Francis Xavier writes: "In Goa ha prevalso, e prevale una fazione composta specialmente di Mistizi Portoghesi, che hanno per capo un nativo di Portogallo, mandato di là come *Governator Militare* sotto il Prefetto. Costui, e tutti i suoi nell'empietà eguagliano il Prefetto; ma in tutto il resto sono molto più scellerati di lui. Eglino hanno eletto un *Triumvirato* perché abbia l'*apparenza* di Governo; ma in realtà perché sia cieco esecutore di tutte le loro ribalderie. Uno dei Triumviri è un Francescano Riformato, Mistizio Portoghese, chiamato Costantino di Santa Rita". APF, *Acta 199*, ff. 253v-254r. The negative influence of the unhappy situation of the clergy in the Padroado sees can be read in APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 402r-v.

25 APF, *Acta 199*, f. 253r, "I presenti tempi per la loro stessa calamità sarebbero, cred' io, opportunissimi per radicalmente mettere fine alla scandalosa persecuzione, che i Portoghesi già da 300 anni fanno ai ministri della Santa Sede, alla propagazione, conservazione e aumento della religione cristiana nell'India".

26 See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 344r. The Padroado clergy in Calcutta were either Portuguese or Goan Augustinian friars. More description about them in APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 126v-127r.

27 See the letter of Msgr. Mitchie to Msgr. Bramston, the apostolic vicar of London, in APF, *SOCG 948*, ff. 250r-257r. Msgr. Bramston through Msgr. Nicolas Wiseman, the rector of the English College at Rome, gave a copy of this letter to Propaganda. And on February 4, 1831, the Prefect of Propaganda gave the answer to this letter and asked the apostolic vicar of London to send two priests to Calcutta. See APF, *Acta 196*, ff. 344r-v.

tioned that religion was in extreme danger in Calcutta if no provision would be made to remove the then existent ecclesiastics in that city[28]. Regarding the conduct of the ecclesiastics the letter showed:

> Rather than pasturing the sheep of Christ, they were instead a scandal. They lack the culture and quality of the sacred character, they are deprived of good manners and do not mind the discipline. Their motive of profit renders them incapbale of spiritual asssitance to the faithful and with their examples they have become an obstacle to them[29].

One letter written from Karikkal[30], which is a French settlement spiritually depending on the ecclesiastical superior residing in Pondicherry[31] in the Coromandel coast, exposed that the Padroado priests working in those regions were not only useless but also dangerous to religion[32]. In this letter Fr. Supries wrote about the miserable

28 See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 344r. The following letters too show the unhappy state of the Church headed by the Padroado clergy in Calcutta: a letter of Fr. Paolo de Gradoli, apostolic missionary in Calcutta, dated May 16, 1831 (APF, *SOCG 948*, f. 240r), another letter by him dated June 9, 1831 (APF, *SOCG 948*, ff. 242r-243r), letter by Nicolas Wiseman (APF, *SOCG 948*, ff. 246r-v), two letters by Msgr. Mitchie (APF, *SOCG 948*, ff. 250r-257r, 260r).

29 APF, *Acta 196*, f. 344r, "Gli ecclesiastici, i quali piuttosto che coltivare quella parte del gregge di Cristo ne sono anzi lo scandalo. Imperocche risulta chiaramente che essi non solo mancano di coltura, e di istituzione degna del sacro carattere onde sono, ma che privi inoltre di costume, nulla curanti la disciplina, intenti al guadagno, sono incapaci alla spirituale assistenza dei fedeli, ed invece ai medesimi coll'esempio servono d'inciampo". Msgr. Mitchie also asked Msgr. Bramston to send some English priests to Calcutta to take charge of the faithful there. See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 344r. The letter of the Catholic inhabitants of Calcutta of June 20, 1833, also shows the conduct and the work of the Padroado clergy in Calcutta. See APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 126v-127v.

30 This letter was written by Fr. Supries, a missionary in Pondicherry, on February 26, 1833. See this letter in APF, *Acta 196*, ff. 357v-358v. Details on this mission are found in APF, *Lettere 313*, ff. 845r-v; APF, *Lettere 315*, ff. 96r-v.

31 From 1687 onwards the missionaries of *Missions Estranges du Paris* were working in Pondicherry. From 1776 onwards the head of this mission was a bishop, but was not titled as apostolic vicar in consideration of the bishop of Mylapur since the mission land of Pondicherry was within the limit of the diocese of Mylapur. With the brief *Apostolici muneris* of July 8, 1836, Pondicherry was erected an apostolic vicariate. See *Jus Pontificium V*, 161; *Bullarium Pontificium V*, 144-145.

32 "... che i sacerdoti ivi situati non solo non siano utili, ma debbansi anche riputare dannosi alla Religione". See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 344v. This letter was written by Fr. Supries, missionary in Karikkal, to Fr. Tesson, superior of the *Missions Estranges du Paris*. The report of the General Assembly of September 19, 1836, showed that the apostolic vicar of Pondicherry had written many times about the necessity to ward off the great harm which the religion in India suffered. See APF, *Acta 199*, f. 240v.

situation of Christianity in Saragouny dependent on the ordinary of Kochi[33]. In the same letter Fr. Supries presented the quality and behaviour of the priests of Goa[34]. A sudden and prompt remedy should be found, he held, for the disastrous situation of religion in India. He wrote:

> It seems to me that the most proper means to prevent the entire ruin of the religion in the whole of India would be the formation of a new apostolic vicariate for all the ancient Jesuit missions in Madurai, Marava, Tanjavor, etc.[35].

5.1.2. The General Assembly of Propaganda of July 9, 1833

On the basis of the new political situations in India[36], and the desolate situation of the Church under the care of the Portuguese Padroado in India, the General Assembly of Propaganda held on July 9, 1833[37], discussed what was to be done for the spiritual welfare of the Catholics in those regions where the English had already established their political supremacy[38]. The cardinals of the Assembly first discussed

33 See APF, *Acta 196*,f. 344v. In the words of Fr. supries: "Ces nombreux chretiens sont prives depuis plus de trois ans de tous secours spirituels. L' unique pretre qui est lá, non content de l' immense revenu qu' il percoit sur les riz (il doit recevoir chaque année la valeur d' au moins 5000 francs) exige rigoureusement: 15 rupies (37 francs) par mariage, cinq rupies par baptême, et ainsi de suite". APF, *Acta 196*, f. 344v. See also APF, *Lettere 315*, f. 838v.

34 APF, *Acta 196*, f. 345r. He wrote: "Ces pretres, a quelques exceptions pres, sont ignorans au dernier point, grossiers, ivrognes, avares à l' exces, enfin le dirai je, impudiques". In the regions of Mylapur, Tanjavoor, Kochi, many priests of Goa were working dependent on the jurisdiction of the ordinary of Mylapur. Fr. Supries was of opinion that the good Christians of Madurai and Trichinapoly, formed by the great works of the Jesuits, should be entrusted with good priests.

35 APF, *Acta 196*, f. 345r. He wrote: "Il me semble que le moyen le plus propre pour empecher la ruine entière de la Religion dans l' interieur de l' Inde, ce serait la formation d' un nouveau Vicariat apostolique pour toutes les anciennes missions des Jesuits dans le Madure, le Marava, le Tanjaor etc.". Regarding the erection of the apostolic vicariate of Madura see footnote 86.

36 See chapter 4, pp. 223-225.

37 See the report of this Assembly in APF, *Acta 196*, ff. 342r-345v. The cardinal *ponente* was Placido Zurla. The agenda was *Sulle providenze da prendersi per il bene della Religione negli stabilimenti Inglesi, e Portoghesi nelle Indie Orientali*. They took into discussion the letter of Fr. Supries (*lettera da Sig. Supries al Superiore del Seminario delle Missioni Stranieri in Parigi sopra l'urgenza di provvedere agli affari delle Religione nelle Indie*) dated February 26, 1833 (APF, *Acta 196*, ff. 357v-358v) and some letters regarding the Church in Calcutta (APF, *Acta 196*, ff. 359r-364v).

38 See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 343r. The Congregation of Propaganda was already informed of the new political situation of India and the deplorable state of the Church in India through the letters of the Propaganda missionaries and apostolic vicars.

the project presented by the apostolic vicar of the Capuchin Missions of Hindusthan in Thibet[39]. He proposed to establish a representative of the Holy See in Calcutta, who would superintend the affairs of religion in the East Indies[40]. The Assembly also proposed to ask the General of the Jesuits[41] to send some priests to the mission of Calcutta for the spiritual assistance of the Catholics of that region who were in extreme need of zealous ministers[42].

The cardinals of the Assembly, taking into consideration the then state of things in India, decided to induce the English government to take necessary steps favourable to the religion in India and, also sensing the urgency, to provide for the needs of the Catholic population in those regions where the spiritual assistance was lacking[43]. In view of the same they put forward the following *dubbi* for resolution:

> 1. What measure is to be taken that the English government in India consider the interest of the Catholic religion in India.
> 2. Independently from the negotiation with the government what can be done for the good of the religion in Calcutta.
> 3. Whether to adopt the project to erect a particular apostolic vicariate for the ancient Jesuit missions of Madura, Tangavoor, etc. and to whom should it be entrusted?[44].

39 See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 343r.

40 APF, *SOCG 948*, ff. 238r-239r.

41 R.P. Roothan, the General of the Jesuits, since he was asked by the Holy Father, wrote to the Provincials of England and Ireland on July 20, 1833. See the details in OTTO, *Gründung*, 257.

42 See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 343r. On November 3, 1833, the General of the Jesuits answered to the Secretary of Propaganda informing that he had selected two English and one Irish priest to be sent to Calcutta. APF, *Acta 196*, f. 343r. The need of English pastors in Calcutta was shown in the letter of the Catholic inhabitants of Calcutta, dated June 20, 1833. See footnote 3.

43 APF, *Acta 196*, ff. 345r-v.

44 APF, *Acta 196*, f. 345v, "1. Quale misura vi sia luogo a prendere, per utilmente adoperarsi acciocche restino assicurati anche presso il Governo Inglese delle Indie Orientali gli interessi della religione cattolica in quelle parti? 2. Se indipendentemente anche dalla trattativa col Governo per le disposizioni generali riguardanti il cattolicesimo nelle Indie, abbia a darsi qualche provvedimento per il bene della religione in Calcutta? 3. Se adottare il progetto di erigere in Vicario Apostolico particolare le antiche missioni dei Gesuiti nel Madure, Marava, Tanjavoor, etc., ed a quale stabilimento affidarlo?"

5.1.3. The English government in support of Catholic religion in India[45]

In the House of Commons of the British parliament, article 89 of the English East India Company's Charter was discussed on July 19, 1833, and they declared permission to the king to found new Protestant sees in Madras and Bombay[46]. But Mr. O'Connell, a Catholic, protested this opinion saying that the Christians in India mostly were not Protestants, but Catholics[47]. He, therefore, wanted not only the Protestant Church, but the Catholic Church in India as well to enjoy the freedom[48]. Hearing all the comments[49], the parliament decided that the English government should not side only with the Protestant religion in India[50].

45 Msgr. Nicolas Wiseman, the rector of the English College in Rome, through a *Pro-memoria* of August 11, 1833, informed Propaganda the same. See this *Pro-memoria* (titled: *Memoria con documenti relativi presentata da Monsig. Nicola Wiseman Rettore del Collegio Inglese in Roma sull'importanza di sistemare gli affari della Chiesa cattolica nelle Indie*) in APF, *Acta 196*, ff. 348r-350r (*sommario*, no. 1). He held such an opinion based on the studies of the discussions made in the House of Commons of the British parliament on July 19, 1833.

46 See BSR, *Atti Parlamentari*, 1019. The first Protestant bishopric in India was Calcutta. We see in chapter 4, p. 263, Bishop Middleton, the bishop of Calcutta visiting Malabar. See the minutes of the discussion of Friday, July 19, 1833, in the House of Commons: "The Chairman put the 89th clause, which provides for the appointment of two bishops, one for the presidency of Fort St. George and the other for the island of Bombay".

47 See BSR, *Atti Parlamentari*, 1019-1020. He demanded that as many of the English soldiers stationed in Calcutta were Irish Catholics they too were to be taken into consideration. Regarding the Catholic population in Calcutta see APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 126v.

48 See BSR, *Atti Parlamentari*, 1020-1021. Note the words O'Connell in the minutes: "All Christians should be put upon an equal footing". The minutes continue: "The honourable and the learned member entered into a detail of the vast disproportion between the members of the Protestant Church in India and those of the Catholic Church.... If there were provision made for the Protestant, there should also be provision made for the Catholic and Presbyterian".

49 Some commented that the government should provide to the spiritual needs of all the subjects in that land. Others thought that there was no need to found new bishoprics. Still others wanted to help the Catholic Church and other religions according to the percentage of the people who professed the religion. A further group commented that more than the Protestants the Catholics should be provided for, while others argued that there was no difficulty in maintaining the Catholic clergy. See the details regarding this discussion in BSR, *Atti Parlamentari*, 1021-1029.

50 "... che non si potra costruire ciò, che si dice in quest'atto in modo che sia illecito al Governatore generale col suo consiglio di concedere di quando in quando a qualunque setta della Religione Cristiana, quelle somme, che saranno necessarie per provedere alla spirituale istruzione, o mantenimento del suo culto". APF, *Acta 196*, f. 343v.

This stand of the English parliament showed the favourable position of the government towards the Catholic religion in India[51]. It showed, as Wiseman held, the interest of the government in obtaining the desired advantage for the Catholic religion. Therefore, according to the clause of the parliament, the subsidies which the government could grant were due to the Catholic religion[52]. He wrote:

> I would say it is true that in the clause the minister intended that the subsidies could be granted to any sect of Christian religion: but opportunely it is to be reflected that among the indigenous Christians of India there exists no religion other than Catholic. I would add, therefore, that it is necessary to settle with the government what sum to grant to the Catholic priests for their journey and the necessary provisions to live in those places[53].

Msgr. Wiseman proposed the idea to erect an apostolic vicariate in Calcutta[54], for which he saw the possibility of getting permission and support from the English government. See the words of Wiseman on the prospect of erecting the apostolic vicariate:

> From these reflections I believe we can deduce that everything that can be done for the poor Church of India should be done as early as possible and everything should be planned since it is not difficult to induce the government to recognize the apostolic vicariates of Calcutta and Madras[55]; it should be done now as it might not be possible later[56].

51 Msgr. Wiseman in the *Pro-memoria* showed that the decision of the government to help whichever Christian sect in India was indirectly the decision to help the Catholic religion in India as the Christian religion in India was Catholic. See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 343v. The favourable attitude of the English government in India towards the Catholic Church is described in APF, *SC IO 6*, ff. 4r-v.

52 See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 349r.

53 APF, *Acta 196*, f. 343v, "Dicesi è vero nella clausula da proporsi dal ministro, che i sussidi potranno accordarsi a qualunque setta di Religione Cristiana: ma opportunamente si riflette che tra i cristiani indigeni delle Indie non esiste altra Religione, che la cattolica. Aggiungesi la necessità di stabilire in modo costante col Governo quali somme avranno ad accordarsi ai Sacerdoti cattolici per i viaggi, quali appuntamenti essi goderanno per vivere in quelle contrade".

54 See APF, *Acta 196*, ff. 343v, 349r. The idea of erection of apostolic vicariates in India was already proposed by Msgr. Francis Xavier, the apostolic vicar of Malabar, in his early letters and by Fr. Supries, missionary in Karikkal, and also the apostolic vicar of Thibet-Hindustan in his letter of November 22, 1832. See APF, *Acta 199*, f. 254r; APF, *Acta 196*, f. 345r; APF, *SOCG 948*, ff. 238r-239r.

55 In the General Assembly of Propaganda held on August 16, 1831, it was decreed to erect the mission of Madras into an apostolic vicariate (See APF, *Acta 194*, ff. 365r-v). The English East India Company consented to the same. Through the brief *Pastorale officium* of July 3, 1832, Fr. Beda Spolding, an English Benedictine, was appointed the apostolic vicar of Madras (See *Jus Pontificium V*, 47). But due to his refusal the apostolic vicariate remained vacant. So Wiseman proposed that a suitable English priest be appointed there. See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 343v.

For the establishment of the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta another problem that was found was that all the *beni* of the churches in Calcutta were with the Portuguese clergy, who would do all what they could to impede the entry of an English or Irish priest in Calcutta[57]. He thought that it would be good that the English government speaks with the Portuguese government in regard to the same[58]. Wiseman expressed the idea that the appointment of either English or Irish priests in the apostolic vicariates would be ideal as they could more easily work with the government.

5.2. New steps in view of spiritual care of the faithful in the Padroado sees

Sensing the need to repair the difficulties in the Church in India, the Holy Father, Pope Gregory XVI[59] decided to take new steps to give the Church liberty and freedom from the state, even though it would be detrimental to the demands of the Padroado jurisdiction in India[60].

In the General Assembly of March 18, 1834, it was decided to appoint Daniel O'Connor as the apostolic vicar of Madras (See APF, *Acta 197*, ff. 79r-v) which got approval in the audience of Pope on April 6, 1834 (APF, *Lettere 315*, ff. 242r-v), and with the brief *Ex debito* of April 25, 1834, the erection of the apostolic vicariate was confirmed. See *Jus Pontificium V*, 98.

56 APF, *Acta 196*, f. 349r, "Da questi riflessi credo, che si possa dedurre, che tutto cio, che si vuol fare riguardo alla povera chiesa cattolica nelle Indie orientali, dovrebbe farsi in principio, e che si dovrebbe impiantare in quel modo, che si desidera che acquisti col tempo: poiché non sarebbe difficile d'indurre il Governo di riconoscere dei vicariati apostolici di Calcutta e Madras, se si fondassero in principio, benché forse dopo non sarebbe possibile". He also reflected on other points to be discussed with the English govemment, such as the public instruction, the education of clergy, the expenses for the apostolic vicar of Calcutta and Madras. See APF, *Acta 196*, ff. 349r-v.

57 Wiseman was of opinion that the Padroado clergy had done the same in Ava and Pegu (in Burma) against the Italian missionaries.

58 See APF, *Acta 196*, f. 350r.

59 Cardinal Mauro Cappellari since 1826 before his election as Pope in 1831, had been the prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide and as such was well acquainted with the deficiencies, obstacles, needs and tasks of missionary work. JEDIN, *History of the Church VII*, 195. See for details SCHMIDLIN, *Gregor XVI als Missionspapst*, 209-228.

60 Commenting on this action of Holy See, Fr. Martina writes: "Gregorio XVI aveva giudicato di poter tranquillamente scavalcare il patronato, operando una riforma radicale, senza alcun contato con le autorità portoghese, con cui in quel momento non esistevano relazioni diplomatiche". MARTINA, *Pio IX*, 384.

The earlier decision of Rome to provide missionaries in those places where there was no Church presence at all was not met with opposition from the Portuguese Padroado in India. This is clear from the letter of

5.2.1. Erection of the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta (Bengal)

With the view of bringing a change in the administration of the Church in India, Calcutta or Bengal was erected an apostolic vicariate under Propaganda with the brief *Latissimi terrarum tractus* of April 18, 1834, and Msgr. Robert St. Leger, an Irish Jesuit, was made the first apostolic vicar[61]. The brief of the Holy Father declared that the apostolic vicar should enjoy the jurisdiction over the Catholic faithful of Calcutta and over all those who were in the political presidency of Calcutta[62]. Taking into consideration the protest of the Portuguese clergy in Calcutta, who resisted the authority of the apostolic vicar, the Holy Father on December 27, 1834[63], with another decree told them to hand over the churches to the apostolic vicar[64].

The Portuguese clergy vigorously protested the new step taken by the Holy See and showed great resistance to the apostolic vicar[65]. In the brief (of April 18, 1834) of the erection of the apostolic vicariate of Bengal, there was no explicit mention of the annulment of any disposition made anteriorly by the Roman pontiffs regarding the

Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, on August 18, 1790, to Bellisomi, Nunzio at Lisbon. Since the Portuguese were unable to provide missionaries for many areas claimed to be under their control, the Holy See had no choice but to appoint apostolic vicars for those areas where there was no Church presence at all. See ASV, *ANL, I.XX.5.*

61 See APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300r; APF, *SC IO 6*, ff. 135r-v; *Jus Pontificium V*, 95-96. Since 1733 Calcutta was the headquarters of the English East India Company and for this reason Calcutta became the first diocese of the Anglican Mission in India. Calcutta was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Meliapur and the priests working there were the Goan Augustinians. Robert St. Leger reached Calcutta in the beginning of October 1834 with six Jesuits and a missionary of Propaganda. See METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 396. With regard to the appointment of Robert St. Leger as apostolic vicar of Calcutta see ARSI, *Calcutensis 1,1,2*, f. 2r.

62 "... populosam Calcuttae urbem, eiusque politicam praefecturam comprehendere debeat". APF, *Acta 199*, f. 236r. See also APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300r.

63 See this decree in APF, *SC IO 6*, ff. 134r-139r.

64 "Ecclesias omnes, etiam PP. Ordinis s. Augustini in Calcuttensi civitate, et in politica Calcuttensi praefectura, sub Vicariatu Apostolico Calcuttensi, seu existentes, seu aedificandas in posterum, in jurisdictione Vicarii Apostolici esse, et permanere debere". APF, *Acta 199*, f. 236r.

65 See the details on the protest of the Augustinians in Calcutta in the letter which Msgr. St. Leger wrote on May 9, 1835, to Propaganda in APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 367r-368v.

right of the kings of Portugal in the dioceses established in those regions[66]. The words of the Acta make this clear:

> In the brief *Latissimi terrarum tractus* of April 18, 1834, by which the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta was erected, as it not clearly expressed the repeal of the dispositions made by Pope Paul V in 1606 when with the knowledge of Philip III, the king of Portugal, the diocese of Meliapur was erected, the adversaries of the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta could easily pose their argument against the erection of the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta[67].

So the Augustinians complained that such an erection was void since it should not have been done without the consent of the Portuguese crown[68]. Fr. Manual of Ave Maria[69], the ecclesiastical governor of Mylapur, through a circular letter for the whole of Bengal ordered his subjects not to obey the apostolic vicar of Calcutta until the new appointment would be ratified by the court of Portugal and with the knowledge of the metropolitan of Goa[70]. St. Leger in his letter showed that: "the attempts of the dissidents did not bring any favourable effect. It also helped the apostolic vicar to obtain all sort of assurance from the English government"[71].

[66] See APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300r. In the brief it was mentioned only "to provide to the great need of the Religion in those vast regions then subject to the British dominion and therefore to erect an apostolic vicariate in the presidency of Calcutta".

[67] APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300r, "Siccome in altro Breve *Latissimi terrarum tractus* del 18. Aprile 1834, con cui fu istituito il Vicario Apostolico di Calcutta, non si era espressamente apposta la deroga alle disposizioni emanate da Paolo V. di s. mem. nel 1606, allorché da esso fu eretto con intelligenza di Filipo III, Re di Portogallo ... sostenevano gli avversari del Vicario Apostolico di Calcutta, che la erezione di quel Vicariato Apostolico era senza vigore ed illegitima".

[68] See APF, *Acta 199*, f. 237r. And they added: "qualunque costituzione Apostolica riguardante le diocesi delle Indie Orientali, non poteva publicarsi, se non per mezzo, e colla intelligenza della corte di Lisbona". They said that in the bull of 1606 of Pope Paul V, by which the diocese of Meliapur was erected with the consent of Philip III, it was expressly stated that Bengal was included in the diocese of Meliapur and also that any bull, brief or constitution without the *beneplacet* of the king of Portugal on this diocese should have no value. See APF, *Acta 199*, f. 237r. See also APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300v. It reads: "... che la erezione di quel vicariato apostolico era senza vigore ed illegitima. Imperocché Paulo V aveva dichiarato, che il Bengala era compresso nella diocesi di S. Thome di Meliapor, ed insieme aveva manifestato, che niun cangiamento di valore, si sarebbe potuto fare in tali disposizioni, senza il consenso dei Re di Portogallo".

[69] Regarding his person see in AHU, *RMI Maço 186* (unnumbered fasc.).

[70] Thus they expressly denied the decree of December 27, 1834, by which all the churches in the presidency of Calcutta should be handed over to the apostolic vicar.

[71] APF, *Acta 199*, f. 237v, "... i tentativi tutti messi in opera dai dissidenti, non solo non hanno riportato alcun effetto ad essi favorevole, ma anzi sono stati occasione, che il Vicario Apostolico abbia ottenuto dal Governo Britannico ogni sorta di assicurazione". Commenting on the letter of Leger, the report of the General Assembly wrote that instead of removing or dismissing the apostolic vicar and his followers from

The vain hope of the Portuguese that before the erection of the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta the Pope should have to get the permission from the parliaments of Lisbon[72] and London was not fulfilled, for the British government gave the answer: "There is no need to recognize any authority in the head of the Portuguese nation to regulate anything temporal or spiritual within the limits of the British territory"[73].

5.2.2. Curtailment of the Padroado right

The Portuguese clergy in Calcutta in their revolt against the apostolic vicar and the Holy Father together with their demand of the patronage of the churches of Calcutta published the bull of Paul V of January 9, 1606[74], and circulated it among the faithful. In it they showed their rightful demand and the incompetence of Pope in erecting the new apostolic vicariate of Bengal, considering it as a violation of the *jus patronatus*[75]. Against their demand Pope considered it timely to clarify the purpose in erecting the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta. The report of the General Assembly of December 18, 1837, states:

> Therefore, the Pope ordered prepared a draft of a brief which would mention the revocation of the bulls of his illustrious predecessors regarding the erection of the mentioned dioceses and the principal reasons which now render it necessary that the Holy See governs those places through the apostolic vicars; he ordered also the execution of the resolution decided upon by the Congregation[76].

Calcutta, the Governor General in India (of the British government) made a solemn declaration very favourable to him which would render his establishment sure. See APF, *Acta 199*, f. 237v.

72 The relation between Vatican and Portugal in the first decades of the nineteenth century is dealt with in MILLER, *Portugal and Rome*, 350-395.

73 "... che non può riconoscere intermediatamente veruna autorità nel Capo della Nazione Portoghese a regolare alcuna cosa, o temporale, o spirituale dentro i limiti del territorio Britannico". APF, *Acta 199*, f. 238r. See the letter of the governor of Calcutta in APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 398r-v (lettera del governo di Calcutta al vicario apostolico che riconosce la sua autorità, e rigette la pretensioni del governo Portoghese). See the letter from the Council of Chamber on January 26, 1835, in APF, *SC IO 6*, ff. 139r-v.

74 Se the bull *Hodie Sanctissimus* with which the diocese of Mylapur (Meliapur) was erected in *BPP II*, 4-6.

75 APF, *SOCG 951*, f. 412r. The prescribed part of the brief reads thus: "jus patronatus, et praesentandi huiusmodi, Philippo, et pro tempore existenti Regi praedicto, ex meris fundatione, et donatione competere, illique etiam per Sedem eamdem, quacumque ratione derogari non posse, nec derogatum censeri, nisi prius Philippi, et pro tempore existentis praedicti Regis expressus ad id accedat assensus, et si alias, quomodocumque derogetur, derogationes huiusmodi cum inde sequuitis, nullius roboris, efficaciae, et momenti fore". See *BPP II*, 5.

76 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300v, "Quindi Sua Santità si compiacque di ordinare, che si preparasse una minuta di Breve, nel quale si facesse la menzione, e la deroga delle Bolle dei suoi Illustri Predecessori, risguardanti

Accordingly the Pope on August 4, 1835, sent the brief titled *Commissi Nobis*[77], expressely stating the repeal of the brief of 1606 and the establishment of the new apostolic vicariate[78]. The Holy Father declared:

> That the apostolic vicar of Calcutta depended immediately on the Holy See and the bishop of Mylapur or any other ordinary has no authority in the region of this apostolic vicariate; that it can rightly have the title of the 'apostolic vicar of Bengal'; that he alone be respected by others as the apostolic vicar of that place; whom all should obey and from whom all receive the faculty and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction[79].

So for the first time the *jus Patronatus* was curtailed by restricting it to a limited area basing this decision on Canon Law[80].

5.2.3. The General Assembly of September 19, 1836

Sensing the importance of the matter, i.e., the provisions for the new establishment of churches in India, the cardinals met on September 19, 1836, and discussed the

l'erezione delle diocesi indicate, si motivassero le principali ragioni, per cui si rende ora necessario, che la S. Sede governi quei luoghi per mezzo dei Vicari Apostolici, e si ordinasse anche l'esecuzione della riferita determinazione della S. Congregazione".

77 See this brief in APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 383r-385r; *Jus Pontificium V*, 135-136. With this brief the independence of the apostolic vicar of Calcutta was declared and what was established by Paul V was derogated.

78 "... declaramus apostolica auctoritate Nostra derogatum esse, et derogari iis, quae Paulus V. Praedecessor Noster anno 1606 statuerat, dum ragiones in Bengala, aliasque a Nobis in literis Apostolicis diei 18 Aprilis 1834 Vicario Apostolico Calcuttae tributas, ad Episcopum Meliaporensem S. Thomae pertinere decrevit". APF, *Acta 199*, f. 239r.

79 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300v, "Affirmamus, Dilectum Filium Robertum St. Leger Societatis Jesu, quem Vicarium Apostolicum Calcuttae instituimus, et ceteros, qui futuris temporibus ab Apostolica Sede ibi statuentur, ab eiusdem Apostolicae Sedis auctoritate tantummodo, immediate dependere, Episcopum Meliaporensem, eisuque administratores, vel alium quemlibet Episcopum, nullam in regionis Vicario Apostolico commissas jurisdictionem habere, eumdemque Vicarium Apostolicum posse jure Bengalensis Vicarii Apostolici titulum gerere, et eum solum, tamquam verum, memoratarum regionem Ordinarium ab omnibus esse habendum; eique omnes obtemperare debere, et ab eo ecclesiasticam jurisdictionem, ac facultates accipere".

80 METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 397. In the letter of March 1, 1836, the apostolic vicar of Bengal, Robert St. Leger, informed the Congregation that even after the publication of *Commissi Nobis* in Calcutta, the Augustinians were persistent in their demands. See APF, *Acta 199*, f. 239r. Through a letter the Augustinians excommunicated all those adhered to the apostolic vicar stating that they resisted the vicar of Christ. See the aftermath of the brief *Commissi Nobis* in APF, *Acta 199*, f. 239r.

matter[81]. In regard to the situation of Calcutta they came to the conclusion that "it should be right and apt to maintain the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta and to bring the whole Church in the English region under Propaganda and not under Portuguese dioceses"[82]. The letters of Msgr. Francis Xavier, the apostolic vicar of Malabar, which the Assembly took into consideration, showed clearly the reason for making new provisions in the British regions in India[83]. The letter of Msgr. O'Connor[84], the apostolic vicar of Madras, exposed the troubles which the Augustinians were causing in Calcutta for the Catholic Church[85], on the basis of which, the cardinals were asked to resolve the *dubbio*: "What provision should be adopted to systematize the ecclesisastical regime in

81 See the report of the General Assembly of September 19, 1836, in APF, *Acta 199*, ff. 236r-240v. Cardinal Sala was the *Ponente*. The Assembly discussed: *Sulle provvidenze da prendersi per sistemare gli affari della Religione nei Vicariati Apostolici esistenti nelle regioni delle Indie Orientali, dipendenti dal Governo Britannico*. The same matter was discussed also in the General Assembly of Propaganda held on May 15, 1835. See APF, *SOCG 950*, f. 382r. They took into discussion the letter sent by Msgr. Robert St. Leger, the apostolic vicar of Bengal, of May 9, 1835 (APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 367r-368v) and the letters of Msgr. Francis Xavier, the apostolic vicar of Malabar, of August 29, 1835 (APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 390v-393v) and of December 28, 1835 (APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 394r-395v). See the answers to these letters of Francis Xavier in APF, *Lettere 317*, ff. 503r-v.

82 APF, *Acta 199*, f. 240r, "La grande importanza di dare un provvedimento, accio, per le ragioni finora indicate, si ottenga, che con tranquilità e stabilità si mantenga il Vicariato Apostlico in Calcutta, è commune anche agli altri luoghi dipendenti ora dal Governo Inglese nell'Indie Orientali, e che una volta facevano parte delle diocesi di nomina del Portogallo". The mind of the cardinals present in the assembly was described by Josef Metzler as: "das Breve *Commissi Nobis* auf die übrigen Apostolischen Vikariate auszudehnen, d.h. die Patronatsdiözesen aufzuheben und ihre Territorien den Apostolischen Vikariaten zuzuschreiben". METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 400.

83 See APF, *Acta 199*, f. 240r. Francis Xavier then exposed the situation of the Goan Church and the territorial extension of Portuguese dominion in India. See the details in APF, *Acta 199*, ff. 240r-v.

84 O'Connor reached Madras on August 20, 1835. From beginning onwards he was on good terms with the English government, but he had to face great difficulties with Fr. Manuel of Ave Maria, the ecclesiastical governor of Mylapur. See the details in APF, *SOCG 953*, ff. 211r-215v (letter of O'Connor dated January 26, 1836). But when Fr. Manuel died on August 5, 1836, O'Connor declared—without the authority of Rome—that the territory of the diocese of Mylapur belonged to his jurisdiction. See APF, *SOCG 953*, f. 225r. Against the demand of O'Connor, the bishop elect Fr. Teixeira reached in Madras on October 2, 1835. See METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 396.

85 See the letter of O'Conoor in APF, *Acta 199*, ff. 255r-256v. In this letter he mentioned about the letter by which Fr. Manual of Ave Maria, the governor of Meliapur, confuted the right of Holy See in the Churches in India.

the regions of East Indies entrusted to the apostolic vicars[86] instituted by the Holy see in the British dominion"[87].

5.3. The situation of the Church in Malabar under Padroado just before the suppression of Padroado rule

Msgr. Francis Xavier, the apostolic vicar of Malabar, informed[88] Propaganda that the administrator, Manoel de S. Joakim Neves[89], a Portuguese Dominican was causing great trouble in Malabar in the diocese of Kochi[90]. He wrote: "I do not know how to better describe the furious hatred which he shows against us, the ministers of the Holy See, than to relate the following fact"[91].

[86] By this time many apostolic vicariates were already erected by Propaganda: Madras (see footnote 55), Bengal [Calcutta] (see pp. 283-285), Pondicherry (see footnote 31), Madura, Ceylon and Sardhana. With the brief *Catholicae Ecclesiae* of December 23, 1836, Pope Gregory XVI erected the apostolic vicariate of Madura including the Jesuit mission regions of Madura, Tanjoor, Marawa and Maissur (see *Jus Pontificium V*, 167-168). The need to erect this apostolic vicariate was already discussed in the General Assembly of Propaganda of July 9, 1833 (see APF, *Acta 196*, ff. 345r-v; APF, *Acta 199*, ff. 236r-v). See the details in APF, *Lettere 313*, ff. 838-839r (Msgr. Francis Xavier is asked to send missionaries to Madura). On the mission of Madura see APF, *Lettere 317*, ff. 502v-505r. About the situation of Madura after its erection as the apostolic vicariate see ARSI, *Madurensis 1,VI,12* and ARSI, *Madurensis 1,XIII,8*. On September 11, 1834, by dividing the apostolic vicariate of Thibet-Hindustan a new apostolic vicariate called Sardhana was erected. (see *Jus Pontificium V*, 108-110). On December 3, 1834, the island Ceylon was made an apostolic vicariate. See APF, *Acta 200*, f. 302r.

[87] APF, *Acta 199*, f. 240v, "Se e quale provvidenza abbia ad adottarsi per sistemare stabilmente il regime ecclesiastico, nelle regioni dell'Indie Orientali, commesse alla giurisdizione dei Vicari Apostolici istituiti dalla S. Sede in quei domini Britannici?"

[88] He informed the Congregation of Propaganda through a letter of August 29, 1835. See this letter in APF, *SOCG 951*, ff. 390r-393v. A part of this letter (*Paragrafo di lettera di Monsig. Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli sulla necessità di provvedere stabilmente ai luoghi di dominio Inglese nelle Indie*) is given in APF, *Acta 199*, ff. 252v-253v (*sommario*, no. 9).

[89] He was a strong defender of Padroado and, therefore, used all means to belittle the Propagandists. More about him in APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 148r-v (letter of Fr. Gregorius, missionary in Varapuzha, on September 7, 1838) and AHU, *RMI Maço 186* (unnumbered fasc.). About his appointment see NAZARETH, *Mitras II*, 57.

[90] See APF, *Acta 199*, f. 252v; details in APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 359v.

[91] APF, *Acta 199*, f. 252v, "L'odio furioso, che costui manifesta contro di noi ministri della S. Sede, non so come meglio descriverlo, che con riportare il suo seguente fatto". These words of Msgr. Francis Xavier should be taken critically as it is said in a context of conflict of power.

Msgr. Francis Xavier then narrated an event to show Neves' hatred towards the apostolic vicar. In three sancturies in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar people from all parts of Kerala used to come and give offerings. But in the year 1834 Neves, through a circular letter, prohibited the faithful to go to these sancturies:

> Last year the above mentioned Fr. Neves with a circular in all his churches under the pain of excommunication prohibited his subjects to go to these sancturies as long as they remain under the jurisdiction of the apostolic vicars, whom to ridicule he called 'the bishops of Turkey'[92].

Francis Xavier wrote that there were other perturbations which Neves caused either by himself or by his priests by favouring or insinuating troubles in the formation of the priests in the seminaries, in the receiving of orders, or in the declaration of their obedience. He added that these were instigated through injurious newspapers inspiring the people against the ministers of Propaganda[93]. Since Neves declared that all the Portuguese in India could boast that they had nothing to do with Propaganda[94], Msgr. Francis Xavier was anxious that even if Neves would be called back from India, he would be substituted by another similar or even worse person[95].

Although the situation of the Church under the Padroado rule in Goa and elsewhere was pitiable, the state of the Church in Kodungalloor[96] was somewhat better. Francis Xavier wrote about the ecclesiastical governor of Kodungalloor, Fr. Peixoto: "The episcopal governor of Kodungalloor, my neighbour, although he was never very fanatic like Fr.Neves, has now almost lost his spirit since he is 74 and has many

92 APF, *Acta 199*, f. 252v, "Nell'anno passato il suddetto P. Neves con una circolare publicata in tutte le sue chiese, *sotto pena di scommunica* proibi a tutti i suoi sudditi, di concorrere ai predetti tre santuari, *fino a tanto che staranno sotto la giurisdizione dei Vicari Apostolici*, che egli per disprezzo chiama *Vescovi della Turchia*, anche nei suoi publici scritti".

93 See APF, *Acta 199*, f. 252v. With little hope of the events he wrote:" Io contro costui non imploro la protezione di Propaganda, perché l'esperienza di più secoli mostra, che tutto sarebbe inutile e dannoso". APF, *Acta 199*, ff. 252v-253r.

94 That means they were under the king of Portugal.

95 APF, *Acta 199*, f. 253r. See his words: "... e poi benché venisse egli richiamato di qua, gli sarebbe surrogato un eguale, e forse peggiore". In another letter, sent to Propaganda on December 28, 1835, Msgr. Francis Xavier wrote about Fr. Neves as follows: "Già da alcuni mesi sento dire, che egli so mostra tristissimo; ma non perciò pensa punto a disfare, o rivocare, o rimediare ai molti mali, che ha fatto alle chiese, e cristiani del vicariato apostolico". APF, *Acta 199*, f. 254r.

96 There were 70 Syrian parishes then in Kodungalloor under the Padroado rule. APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519v.

illness'[97]. Fr. Peixoto could sense the proximate suppression of Padroado and was not inimical to Propaganda rule in Malabar[98].

Francis Xavier felt that it was now time to find a remedy for the deplorable state of the Church in the Padroado sees. As he stated,

> The present time is the proper one to put an end radically to the scandalous persecution which the Portuguese for 300 years have been doing to the ministers of Holy See against the propagation, conservation and increase of Catholic religion in India. An absolute decree of the Pope would banish in whole India those Portuguese bishoprics and their missions[99].

5.4. Ground Preparation for the brief Multa praeclare

Taking into consideration the determination[100] of the Congregation of September 19, 1836, the Holy Father after reflection decided to approve it[101]. His Holiness Pope

97 APF, *Acta 199*, f. 254v, "L'altro Governatore Episcopale mio vicino, quel di Cranganor, oltre che non è mai stato tanto fanatico come il suddetto, adesso ha quasi perduto lo spirito per l'età di circa 74 anni; per le molte malatie ... per le afflizioni, che naturalmente sente circa le cose della sua nazione; e ultimamente per la paura del terremoto, che ripetutamente ha scosso il paese dove abita". On the pitiable condition of the governor he wrote: "nei giorni passati ho ricevuto una sua lettera piena di piagnistei; fra le altre cose mi dice, che in breve si trovera costretto a chiedere elemosina per poter vivere". On Peixoto see chapter 2, pp. 136-137.

98 See the words of Josef Metzler: "Nur P. Peixoto, der alte und kranke Bistumsverweser von Cranganor, stand mit den benachbarten Apostolischen Vikaren auf freundschftlichen Fuss". METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 399. That is the reason why Carvalho, the bishop- elect of Goa tried his best to dismiss Peixoto from the post of ecclesiastical governor of Kodungalloor.

99 APF, *Acta 199*, f. 253r, "I presenti tempi per la loro stessa calamità sarebbero, cred' io, opportunissimi per radicalmente mettere fine alla scandalosa persecuzione, che i Portoghesi già da 300 anni fanno ai Ministri della Santa Sede, alla propgazione, conservazione e aumento della religione cristiana nell'India. Un assoluto decreto del Papa, che abolisse in tutta l'India quei vescovati e Missioni Portoghesi..." (underline is of the author).

100 The disposition adopted in proposal is the following: "Afirmative juxta votum Emi Sala Ponentis, nempe dispositionis litterarum Apostolicarum diei 4 Augusti 1835 quarum initium Commissi Nobis, extendendas esse ad alios vicariatus apostolicos, de quibus agitur: Et ad mentem: Mens est, ut, provisorie, quoadusque novi Vicariatus Apostolici erigi possint, per litteras, in forma Brevis, Diocensis Meliaporensis, sive Sancti Thomae, uniatur Vicariatui Apostolico Madraspatensi, et duc aliae. Coccinensis, et Cranganorensis, Vicariatui Apostolico Verapolensi, cum expressa injunctione Missionariis Apostolicis Augustinianis, ceterisque Sacerdotibus ad Clerum illarum dioecesium pertinentibus, seu Vicariis Generalibus dictarum dioecesium, se submittendi, et dependendi in omnibus a Vicariis Apostolicis Madraspatani et Verapolis". APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300r.

101 See APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300v.

Gregory XVI who himself was in the background of the steps already taken[102], was in favour of the appointment of the apostolic vicars in the Padroado sees[103]. So as the next step he determined:

> To prepare a draft of the brief, in which there would be mentioned the suppression of the bulls of his illustrious predecessors regarding the erection of the indicated dioceses, along with the principal reasons that motivated him to take the necessary step so that the Holy See could govern in those places through apostolic vicars and to order the execution of the determination agreed upon by the Sacred Congregation[104].

In conformity with the ideas of the Holy Father, the draft of the brief[105] was prepared and submitted to the consideration of the Holy Father[106]. According to his will, the resolution was sent to three theologians for study and comments[107], namely Msgr. Raffael Fornari, Fr. Cornelius Van Everbroeck sj, and Msgr. Giuseppe Mezzofanti[108].

5.4.1. On the eve of the brief

While the preparations for *Multa praeclare* were advancing, a letter written by five Augustinians of Calcutta reached Rome[109]. The Holy Father responded to their

102 See footnote 59.

103 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300v. See the report of the cardinal *ponente*: "Nell esame però, che egli stesso benignamente fece dell'affare, ben si persuase, che in sostegno delle opposizioni, che dai dissidenti si sono fatte e si fanno allo stabilimento dei Vicari Apostolici ... si reca sempre in favore, principalmente il patronato dalla S. Sede".

104 APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 300v-301r.

105 See the plan of the brief in APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 310r-312v; APF, *SOCG 953*, ff. 103r-108r.

106 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 301r.

107 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 301r. See the words of Acta: "Il S. Padre, trattandosi di un affare delicato, manifesto di bramare, che prima di ultimarlo, si prendesse ad esame da tre Teologi o Consultori tutta la pendenza, e che quindi la medesima col ragionato parere di ciascheduno di essi nuovamente si proponesse alla S. Congregazione ...".

108 Msgr. Fornari and Fr. Van Evebroeck were the consultors of the Congregation and Msgr. Mezzofanti was the *custode* of the Vatican Library. Regarding them Josef Metzler wrote: "Alle drei kamen auf verschiedenen Wegen zu demselben Resultat: der Heilige Stuhl hat auf Grund seines unveräusserlichen Primats nicht nur das Recht, sondern unter den obwaltenden Umständen die Pflicht, in die Verwaltung der indischen Missionen einzugreifen. Das der portugiesischen Krone verliehene Missionspatronat darf kein Hindernis bilden". METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 401.

109 See APF, *Acta 200*, f. 301r. This letter was full of their grievances. See the words of Acta: "nella quale dolevansi della erezione del Vicariato Apostolico ivi fatta, esprimevano il desiderio che si mantenesse la

letter on January 4, 1837[110], confirming the erection of the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta. He expresed the mind that they should end their schism, declaring that there should not be a double ecclesiastical power at Calcutta and he warned the dissidents to follow the right path[111].

Meanwhile the apostolic vicars of Calcutta and Madras were writing continuously to the Congregation[112]. Their letters showed the procedures in the Churches in those parts, especially the activities of the dissident group under the Portuguese clergy[113].

Msgr. O'Connor, the apostolic vicar of Madras, felt that a prompt definition from Rome would extinguish the schism[114]. He informed Rome that the English government showed readiness to accept the disposition of the Holy See and to recognize O'Connor as the public representative of the Catholic Church in the Madras presi-

giurisdizione antica dei vescovi nominati dal Portogallo, non si ponesse in oblio l'opera da tanto tempo prestata in quelle parti dagli Ecclesiastici Portoghesi, ed in fine chiedevasi, che qualora si volesse persistere nello stabilimento recentemente fatto, almeno si accordasse anche per i Portoghesi un vescovo di proprio nazione". APF, *Acta 200*, f. 301r. The letter of the Augustinians is given in APF, *SOCG 953*, ff. 142r-165v.

110 See the letter in APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 312r-v.

111 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 301r. The Holy Father wrote also to Fr. Paul Antonio Dias, the vicar capitular of Goa, on the same matter.

112 See APF, *Acta 200*, f. 301r. St. Leger wrote to the Congregation on October 10, 1836, on February 13, 1837, and on April 15, 1837 to the Congregation. In these letters he mentioned that it would be better that the apostolic vicar be appointed *di carattere vescovile*. In the letter of February 13, 1837, he stated: "Spero E.V. mente volvisse meam propositionem de constituendo in Bengallia Vicario Apostolico Episcopali charactere omato. Nihil adeo rem stabiliret, nihil aliud impudentium hominum citius vires confringeret". In the letter of April 15, 1837, narrating the repentance of some Augustinians, he wrote about the possibility of reconciliation. O'Connor wrote to the Congregation on October 12, 1836, and on May 10, 1837 (see this leter in APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 315r-v). Msgr. Bonand, the apostolic vicar of Pondicherry, also wrote about this on March 7, 1837.

113 See the contents of the letters in APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 301r-v. Following the death of Fr. Emmanual of Ave Maria on August 5, 1836, Fr. Antonio Teixeira was made the ecclesiastical governor of Mylapur as *Episcopus Electus* whom Msgr. St. Leger in his letter of May 9, 1835, called *blasphemum, ebriosum, irreligiosum, non integrae vitae*. Protesting the erection of the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta, Teixeira returned to Portugal to get the erection nullified. He came back to India boasting of a nomination to the bishopric of Mylapur from the court of Portugal. See APF, *Acta 200*, f. 301v. The appointment was on March 14, 1836. Although Rome refused to confirm him as the bishop of Mylapur, in the same year on October 6 he took up the administration of the diocese.

114 See APF, *Acta 200*, f. 302r.

dency[115]. The intention of the English government, h held, was that the Portuguese clergy would leave the places under British dominion[116]. O'Connor reflected:

> It would be a lesser evil if they would recognise the necessity to submit to the legitimate ecclesiastical authority. It would be opportune that, as the authority of the apostolic vicar of Calcutta was extended to the whole political presidency of Calcutta according to the brief of April 18, 1834[117], his jurisdiction would also include the whole political presidency of Madras[118].

In letters written on October 12, 1836, and May 10, 1837, O'Connor informed the Congregation that although Fr. Antonio Teixeira, the bishop-elect of Mylapur, took charge of the diocese of St. Thome on October 6, 1836, the English rule was not ready to accept him against the will of the Portuguese[119]. He wrote:

> From the position of the government in September 1836 it was clear that the English supreme tribunal in India did not want to suffer the influence and the intermediary disposition of Portugal in the English possessions[120].

115 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 302r. O'Connor held the view that such a declaration would curb the dissidents. See the words of Acta: "In fatti il Vescovo o Governatore Ecclesiastico di S. Thome aveva tale qualifica per l'addietro risguardo alle corte di Portogallo, e di molta influenza sarebbe, per reprimere l'orgoglio dei nemci della autorità del Vicario Apostolico, questa determinazione".

116 See APF, *Acta 200*, 302r.

117 *Latissimi terrarum tractus* on the erection of the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta.

118 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 302r, "... sarebbe molto minor male per essi, se soltanto riconoscessero la necessità di sottomettersi alla legitima ecclesiastica autorità ... sarebbe molto opportuno, che come l'autorità del Vicario Apostolico di Calcutta, conformemente alle espressioni dei Brevi di Sua Santità, del 18 Aprile 1834, si estende a tutta la politica presidenza di Calcutta, cosi anche la sua giurisdizione comprendesse tutta la presidenza Madraspatana". The Acta reported: "It is to be noted that in the brief sent for the erection of the apostolic vicariate of Madras no such expression was used as was used for the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta; but the sole aim of the Congregation was that the mission should pass from the Italian Capuchins to the jurisdiction and property of the apostolic vicariate". APF, *Acta 200*, f. 302r.

119 "... scismaticamente egli come vescovo nominato dalla Corte di Portogallo, si fece riconoscere per tale nella catedrale di S. Thome il 6 Ottobre 1836". APF, *Acta 200*, f. 302v. O'Connor then gives the list of the priests adhering to Fr. Teixeira. Regarding the instruction which Teixeira received from the court of Portugal O'Connor wrote: "missus fuit possidere omnia ecclesiastica nomine Reginae in India. Capitulum Goanense ab ea [Regina] mandatur, omnem jurisdictionem tradere illi, et aliae Ecclesiae sub jure patronatus Lusitaniae in India obedientiam ei praebere praecipiuntur; et ipse per litteras indesinenter cum illa communicare de omnibus in his regionibus peractis qual citissime dirigitur. Expecto quod hoc Gubernium non recognoscat illum...".

120 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 302v, "Già dalla posizione del Settembre 1836, si ha chiaramente che il supremo tribunale Britannico nell'Indie Orientali, si era dichiarato di non esser per soffrire l'influenza, e l'intermediarie disposizioni del Portogallo nelle possidenze Inglesi". This is clear from the words of

From these letters of the various apostolic vicars of India, Propaganda concluded that it was indeed the time to proclaim the last word on this subject, as the words of Acta confirm:

> Finally, as proof for the position of 1836, we find as documents the letters of the other apostolic vicars of India, who are of opinion that it is the apt time to remove the root of the pretences of the dissidents. The reflection of Msgr. Francis Xavier, the apostolic vicar of Verapoli, is worth mentioning, which shows how baseless is the claim of sustaining the authority of the court of Portugal in India, for the possessions of the court in those regions have all but disappeared[121].

5.4.2. The opinions of the Consultors

The cardinal ponente set forth the views of the three consultors regarding the brief and the execution of the resolutions of the Congregation to definitely systematize the affairs in India[122]. He showed that all three agreed in their opinions to proceed with the sending of the brief and its immediate execution[123].

Msgr. Fornari made his study[124] on the brief in four articles, given as follows:

O'Connor as he mentioned in his letter of May 10, 1837: "principalis secretarius huius praefecturae quaesivit a me, cur non prompte constitueret Sanctitas Sua Episcopum Meliaporensem, aut decerneret, illam diaecesim esse intra jurisdictionem Vicarii Apostolici Madraspatani, praecipue Vicario Generali, nomine Emmanuele de Ave Maria jam defuncto, et ita contereret caput schismatis, et tantam insubordinationem. Gubernium recusavit recognoscere illud caput nomine Fr. Antonio Teixeira, aut, ut vocatur, Don Antonio. Supremum tribunal bis rejecit eum quaerentem proprietatem Sedis Meliaporensis; et ipsum tribunal tantum expectat Episcopum a S. Sede constituendum, ut illi traderet proprietatem ad usum sedis Meliaporensis". The same fact is mentioned in the letter of March 7, 1837, written by Msgr. Bonnand, the apostolic vicar of Pondicherry. See APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 302v-303r.

121 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 303r, "Finalmente nella posizione del 1836 si trovano anche i documenti, per provare, che parimenti gli altri Vicari Apostolici delle Indie Orientali, sono di parere, che ora è il tempo opportuno di togliere dalla radice il pretesto di si lunghi, e scandalosi dissidi. Principalmente merita riflessione la lettera di Monsig. Francesco Saverio di S. Anna, Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli ... nella quale lettera fa chiaramente vedere, quanto insussistente sia la pretensione di sostenere l'autorità delle corte di Portogallo nell' India, la possidenza della quale corte, in quei luoghi, può quasi dirsi sparita".

122 See APF, *Acta 200*, f. 303r.

123 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 303r. See the words of Acta: "sono essi tutti tre di concorde sentimento, che il Breve proggettato debba essere spedito, e che non vi sia ragione di resilire dalla determinazione sudetta in vista del patronato per l'addietro accordato dalla S. Sede ai Re di Portogallo, che è il punto principale, e forse unico, a cui si appoggiano, e su di cui si sono finora sostenuti i dissidenti".

124 His study is titled as *Voto di Msgr. Rafaele Fornari, Consultore della S. Congregazione di Propaganda, intorno alle definitive disposizioni da adottarsi per lo stabile sistma degli affari ecclesiastici nelle Indie Orientali*. APF, *Acta 200*, f. 320r. After a description of the general situation of the Church in India

1. the fact of the concession of the patronage made by the Holy See to the kings of Portugal regarding the dioceses in the East Indies[125]; 2. the meaning, power and the limits of the authority of this patronage[126]; 3. whether the actual political situations could bring forth reasonable difficulties against the execution of the resolutions of the Congregation[127]; 4. the tenor for the execution of the planned brief[128].

Fr. Van Everbroeck[129] and Msgr. Mezzofanti[130] also expressed their views, after having studied the scheme of the brief in detail.

and of the steps taken by the Holy See for the establishment of new apostolic vicariates, he divides his work into four articles. See this study in APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 320r-382v.

125 In the first article Msgr. Fomari showed that the briefs of the Holy Fathers in general spoke about the donation of acquired posessions to the Portuguese rather than a patronage given for that regions. He was of opinion that *Dum Fidei constantiam* of Leo X of 1514 did not intend an unlimited patronage but a restricted one. See the details in APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 323r-354v.

126 In this article he showed that whatever the privilege which Holy See granted to the kings of Portugal, it would not have meant a binding one imposed on the Holy See, by which the Holy See would be impeded in providing for the needs of the Church when the consent of the king was lacking. The right inalienable and inherent to the nature of the primacy of the Pope to provide for the needs of the Church should not be taken away due to any human disposition. See APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 354v-369v.

127 Msgr. Fomari in the third article proved that the true right of patronage could not reasonably offend the crown of Portugal through the execution of the determination of the Congregation. There was no need to fear the indigenous kings, who had little influence or were already tributary princes of the English. Moreover, the English government was in favour of this position of the Holy See. See APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 369v-380r.

128 Regarding the designed brief, Msgr. Fomari commented, he had nothing to oppose and approved it fully. But he wished that, "in the brief where it speaks about the power of the archbishop of Goa, which says that he cannot exercise nor has he the metropolitan power in the regions subjected to the apostolic vicars, it would be better to say that the archbishop can in no way exercise his jurisdiction". He continued that it would be better to add some expressions of menace against the dissidents if they should not desist from the opposition. See APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 380r-382v.

129 The report of the Acta says: "anche il R.P. Van Everbroeck della Compagnia di Gesù è di sentimento nel suo voto, che si debba mandare ad effetto la determinazione già adottata dalla S. Congregazione per definitivamente sistemare gli affari ecclesiastici delle Indie Orientali". APF, *Acta 200*, f. 304r. He was of opinion that "the Holy See can and should take new steps for the good of the Church. And therefore the Holy See can derogate the privileges or concessions already granted to the kings or persons". And, therefore, there was no reasonable difficulty for the execution of the determination of the Congregation. According to him it was a necessity that it be executed. See APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 304r-v.

130 He declared that it was expedient not only because of the utility but also because of the necessity to proceed. The report notes: "La misura gia presa, giustamente esso reflette, e che si vuole estendere, è pure in accordo colle attuali politiche circostanze di quelle regioni: né l'anarchia Portoghese deve per niun conto impedire o deteriorare lo stato della cattolica religione tra quei popoli, alla cui spirituale salute la S. Sede è sollecita di provvedere". APF, *Acta 200*, f. 304v. See his opinion in APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 416r-v. Here 'anarchy' is used in the sense of a liberal government.

5.4.3. The General Assembly of December 18, 1837

The General Assembly of Propaganda held on December 18, 1837[131], evaluated the situation of the Church, especially in Calcutta and Madras after the establishment of the apostolic vicariates in those regions[132]. The assembly reported that the dissensions in those regions were great. The cardinal *ponente* presented before the Assembly Fathers the *dubbio*, i.e., whether to persist in the determination taken in the Congregation on September 19, 1836[133], and request the Holy Father to order the execution of the planned brief[134].

5.5. The publication of Multa praeclare

As a result of the discussion and study made in the two General Assemblies of September 19, 1836, and of Decemebr 18, 1837[135], it was decided to proceed with the determination. The report of the General Assembly of June 11, 1839, reads as follows:

131 See the report of this Assembly (*Sulle esecuzione della determinazione adottata dalla S. Congregazione, per il definitivo sistema degli affari ecclesiastici, nei Vicariati Apostolici stabiliti nei Domini Inglesi delle Indie Orientali*) in APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 300r-305r. Josef Metzler qualified this meeting as the *entscheidende Sitzung*. METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 401. The scope of the Assembly is described as: "L'importanza gravissima di porre un definitivo termine alla discordia eccitata nelle Indie Orientali, dopo lo stabilimento fattovi di recente, di nuovi Vicari Apostolici, la necessità di sistemare gli affari ecclesiastici in quelle tanto vaste regioni suddite del Governo Britannico, formo l'oggetto della posizione distribuita all' EE. VV. Rme, ed esaminata nella S. Congregazione Generale tenuta il giorno 19 Settembre 1836, quale posizione riferita dall' Emo, e Rmo Sig. Cardinale Castracane, invece del Emo, e Rmo Sig. Cardinale Sala Ponente, che non intervenne...". APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300r.

132 APF, *Acta 200*, f. 300r. By this time altogether six apostolic vicariates were being erected in India. See footnote 86.

133 See pp. 288-290.

134 See APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 304v-305r. The following is the *dubbio*: "Se si debba persistere nella determinazione adottata dalla Sacra Congregazione Generale del 19 Settembre 1836 per sistemare stabilmente il reggimento ecclesiastico nelle regioni delle Indie Orientali, comprese nei Domini Inglesi? E se supplicare la Santità di Nostro Signore, a degnarsi di ordinare la esecuzione colla spedizione del Breve proggettato?" APF, *Acta 200*, f. 305r.

135 The matter was in discussion in many General Assemblies. Besides those of September 19, 1836 (pp. 288-290) and December 18, 1837 (pp. 300), there were also those of July 9, 1833 (pp. 278-279), September 13, 1830, and May 15, 1835 (APF, *Acta 199*, f. 235r).

> The state of affairs after the erection of the apostolic vicariates was exposed in great detail, and the provisions were made by the Congregation and by the Holy Father in order to repress the discord and to recall a legitimate and regular ecclesiastical regime in those vast regions[136].

The dissensions and the difficulties that had arisen in the newly-erected apostolic vicariates did not induce Propaganda to withdraw from the enactment of the determination[137], but instead to go forward. After the publication of *Commissi Nobis*, the need arose in other apostolic vicariates to suspend the claims of Padroado since the Portuguese clergy proceeded with their continuous troubles insisting on the right of Padroado[138]. For this reason the General Assembly of September 19, 1836, decreed that the dispositions given in the *Commissi Nobis* directly for the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta, were to be extended also to other apostolic vicariates in the East Indies[139]. The same Assembly planned further:

> That the remaining part of the diocese of St. Thome, which did not come under the apostolic vicariate of Calcutta, would be united to the apostolic vicariate of Madras and the same be done with those places of Kochi and Kodungalloor to the apostolic vicariate of Varapuzha in Malabar[140].

In these circumstances of great necessity and utility to the Catholic Church in India, the affairs having been examined through a command of the Holy Father in the General Assembly of December 18, 1837, the meeting approved the draft of the brief by which the Holy Father was to promulgate the final sanction of his wise determina-

136 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 184r, "In quelle posizioni diffusamente fu esposto tutto ciò che concerne lo stato delle cose dopo eretti quei Vicariati Apostolici, e le provvidenze che dalla S. Congregazione, dal Sommo Pontifice furono adottate, onde sedare o reprimere la discordia, e richiamare stabilmente in quelle vaste regioni il legittimo e regolare ecclesiastico regime".

137 The cardinals of the Assembly, therefore, noted that, "quanta grave dissensione siasi eccitata nelle Indie Orientali fin dall'epoca in cui fu ereto in Calcutta ed in Madras nel 1834 il vicario apostolico, l' EE.VV. Rme ne hanno piena notizia, mentre per sapientissima loro disposizione sono stati instituiti e sostenuti nelle Indie tali vicariati si necessari per la conservazione ed incremento della Religione". APF, *Acta 202*, f. 184r. The Assembly treated the following: *Sullo stato attuale della dissensione eccitatasi nelle Indie Orientali contro lo stabilimento ivi fatto dei Vicari Apostolici.* APF, *SOCG 955*, f. 393r.

138 "... ed ai Vicari Apostolici di Bombay, e di Verapoli nel Malabar, si arrecavano ogni giorno per parte dei sacerdoti e religiosi Agostiniani Portoghesi continue molestie, appellandosi sempre al diritto Patronato dei Re di Portogallo su di quelle diocesi Indiane". APF, *Acta 202*, f. 184v.

139 "... che le disposizioni date nel breve *Commissi Nobis* direttamente per il Vicariato Apostolico di Calcutta, si intendessero estese anche agli altri Vicariati Apostolici nelle Indie Orientali". APF, *Acta 202*, f. 184v.

140 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 184v, "Al Vicario Apostolico di Madras si unisse la parte rimanente della diocesi di S. Thome ancor non sottomessa a verun Vicario Apostolico, e che lo stesso si facesse dei luoghi spettanti alle diocesi di Coccino, e di Cranganor riunendoli al Vicario Apostolico nel Malabar".

tion[141]. Thus on April 24, 1838, the brief *Multa praeclare*[142] was published, which effected the execution of the determinations already made by the Pope[143]. The words of Acta are clear,

> By which was ordered the execution of the indicated determinations; it expressly abrogated the patronage of the kings of Portugal over the mentioned dioceses. This patronage, which the Roman Pontiffs once granted, could now oppose the new distribution of the ecclesiastical government in the East Indies[144].

The brief also mentioned that the Holy Father, persuaded by a sense of justice, determined to act through necessity. The Holy Father was requested to take these measures seeing the great danger in the religion in India[145]. The good use of the right which the Church once granted is shown in the report as follows:

> The patronage, agreed upon between the Holy See and the kings of Portugal which was not for the ruin of the Church, can never constrain the Supreme Pontiff from working for the necessity of religion[146]

The changed situations both in India and Portugal and the steps already taken by other Popes, as the report held, were additional inducing factors for such determination, as the words of the Acta show:

141 "Nuovamente l'affare fu esaminato per commando di sua Santità nella Congregazione Generale del 18 Decembre 1837. In quella sacra adunanza fu approvata la minuta del Breve, con cui il S. Padre era per promulgare la suprema sua sanzione di tali sapientissime determinazioni". APF, *Acta 202*, f. 184v.

142 See APF, *SC IO 6*, ff. 427r-445r; *Bullarium Pontificium V*, 164-168; *Jus Pontificium V*, 195-198; *Acta Gregorii Papae XVI II*, 256-258; APF, *Acta 200*, ff. 453r-454v.

143 See APF, *Acta 202*, f. 184v. The execution of *Multa praeclare* although was meant for the Church in India, it included also the diocese of Malacca. See the words of the report of General Assembly of June 11, 1839: "Ed a queste provvidenze che risguardavano la peninsula di quá dal Gange fu aggiunto che al diocesi di Malacca di lá da quel fiume, si sottomesse al Vicario Apostolico di Ava e Pegu".

144 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 184v, "... con cui si ordino l'esecuzione delle indicate determinazioni, espressamente si derogo al patronato dei Re di Portogallo sopra le diocesi menzionate, ed aquanto i Romani Pontefici avevano dichiarato per l'addietro, e che potesse opporsi alla nuova distribuzione del governo ecclesiastico nelle Indie Orientali".

145 See APF, *Acta 202*, ff. 184v-185r.

146 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 185r, "... che il patronato dalla S. Sede accordato in addietro ai Re di Portogallo non era stato accordato certamente a danno della chiesa, come veramente lo addivverrebbe se per esso fosse stato imposto un vincolo al Sommo Pontifice, dal quale vincolo impedito, non potesse più operare quanto ivi reclamava la necessità della religione".

> Also the political changes in the dominion has paralysed the same patronage. The examples of the preceding Pontiffs also clearly showed the present Pope with what confidence he could proceed in the indicated dispositions[147].

5.6. *The aftermath of* Multa praeclare

The consequences of the brief were many and varied both in India and in Portugal[148]. Whether Rome has foreseen the outcome or not, the opposition to the brief was very strong on the part of the Padroado clergy. They considered this act of Rome as a violation of their right and, therefore, used all force to check its execution, even though it came from Roman authorities. Fr. Martina says that Gregory XVI, convinced that every effort of agreement with the Portuguese government would be futile, would have acted in an autonomous way without taking the Portuguese Padroado into account[149].

In the face of such great opposition and difficulty in the Church in India, as Francis Xavier held, the decision should have naturally pleased the apostolic vicars, who were forcing Rome for a prompt action, even against the demands of Portugal[150]. Although the purpose was to liberate the Church from the hold of the state with the view of providing well for the needs of the faithful, as the Roman documents show, the provoked a series of jurisdictional conflicts[151].

147 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 185r, "... che i politici cangiamenti di dominio paralizzavano affatto il patronato suddetto. Che in fine gli esempi dei Pontifici predecessori addimostravano patentemente al Pontifice Regnante, con quale sicurezza poteva esso procedere alle indicate disposizioni".

148 On May 24, 1838, the brief with another letter of Cadinal Fransoni was sent to the apostolic vicars of Calcutta, Madras, Pondicherry, Bombay, Verapoly, Ceylon and Ave-Pegu. See APF, *Lettere 319*, ff. 474r-v. But the brief was not sent to the ecclesiastical governors of the Padroado sees in India nor to Lisbon. See METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 404. The reason, as held by Josef Metzler, was: "Zwar kann man mit Sicherheit annehmen, dass diese es zurückgewiesen hätten, da es nicht mit dem Plazet der Regierung versehen war, aber das hätte kein Grund sein dürfen, ihnen die sie sehr nahe angehende römische Entscheidung überhaupt nicht mitzuteilen". METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 404.

149 See the words of Fr. Martina: "Gregorio XVI, come si è visto, convinto che ogni tentativo di accordo col governo portoghese sarebbe risultato sterile, aveva agito in modo autonomo, senza tener conto del patronato. Multa praeclare, frutto di lunghe consultazioni a Propaganda, aveva esplicitamente riconosciuto l'anacronismo del patronato portoghese ed aveva praticamente soppresso ogni giurisdizione". MARTINA, *Pio IX*, 383.

150 See APF, *Acta 202*, f. 185r.

151 Note the words of Fr. Martina: "Il breve di Gregorio XVI ebbe così effetti polivalenti: da un lato provoco una lunga serie di conflitti giurisdizionali, che il Vaticano non tanto nei suoi documenti ufficiali, quanto

The great opponents of the brief were the Goan group, who renewed their resistance with maximum vigour knowing well that those pontifical dispositions contained the condemnation of the resistance to the legitimate authority and annulled wholly the means used in opposition[152]. Fr. Antonio Carvalho, the archbishop-elect of Goa, and Fr. Antonio Teixeira, the bishop-elect of Madras, through their partisans spread pastoral encyclicals and other subversive writings throughout India to persuade disobedience[153].

Carvalho denied the authority of the brief, stating that since it was not directed through the court of Lisbon, it had no value[154]. With a pastoral letter dated October 8, 1838, he made known to the public that the Pope violated the *jus patronatus* of Portugal and thereby injured the Portuguese crown; and, therefore, the brief should be withdrawn until it should get the *placet* of the Portuguese king[155]. Patronage was not a *privilegio grazioso*, they maintained, but a *diritto acquisto* that cannot be denied even by the same pontiffs. Thus they determined to oppose the decision of the Pope[156]. Seeing the persistence of the dissidents, the Congregation of Propaganda felt the necessity of taking some steps to make everything calm.

nelle sue corrispondenze diplomatiche col nunzio a Lisbona chiama simplicamente 'scisma', dall altro moltiplico i vicari apostolici e costitui una forte scossa alla chiesa in India, troppo avezza ad aspettare tutto dallo Stato, stimolandola ad agire con le proprie forze". MARTINA, *Pio IX*, 384.

152 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 185r.

153 "... si sono sparse per le Indie, pastorali encicliche, ed altri scritti sovversivi, cui si sono aggiunte tutte le arti, ed insidie, affine di persuadere la disobbedienza". See APF, *Acta 202*, f. 185r.

154 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 185r.

155 Carvalho in his pastoral letter (*Pastoral do Arcebispo Eleito de Goa, primaz do Oriente, Governador, e Vigario Capitular do mesmo Arcebispado Metropolitano, mostrando, que hum denominado Breve Apostolico, datado de 24 de Abril de 1838, he supposto; e mandando a todos os seus Subditos, que o nao recebao, nem executem, sem elle se apresentar munido do Beneplacito Regio de S.Magestade Fidelissima*) criticized the Holy See in hard terms. For details see APF, *SC IO 9*, ff. 689r-695r. The letters which tell about the pertinent disobedience of the dissidents are given in *sommario* (nos. 1,2,3 and 4) at the end of the Acta of General Assembly of June 11, 1839. APF, *Acta 202*, f. 185r. Commenting on the pastoral letter of Carvalho, Josef Metzler wrote: "Dieser lange Hirtenbrief verfehlte bei den Anhängern des Patronats seien Eindruck nicht. Dem Verfasser aber waren nur noch wenige Lebenstage vergönnt. Er starb am 1 Februar 1839". METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 409. The same idea is expressed by Francis Xavier in his letter of March 11, 1839. See APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 85r.

156 The words of Fr. Martina follow: "la rinunzia al patronato, e anche una sua limitazione, in questa prospettiva era vista come un enorme sacrificio, una ferita al prestigio nazionale, la distruzione di vetuste tradizioni, e di un passato di gloria, uno sciaffo al Portogallo, un insulto ai re e al paese". MARTINA, *Pio IX*, 379.

> Considering the actual state of affairs it seems necessary to make some determination in order to provide efficaciously for the tranquillity of the apostolic vicars and the missionaries and in the cause of the religion which through this dissension cannot but prove a detriment[157].

In general the dissidence in the Church in the East Indies was greatly disturbing[158]. In the apostolic vicariate of Madras, those who demanded the right of the bishop of St. Thome, were not willing to obey the apostolic vicar of Madras under which the diocese of Madras was subjugated[159]. The bishop-elect of Madras caused great trouble

157 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 185r, "Considerato lo stato attuale delle cose sembra che si renda necessario il prendere qualche determinazione, onde provvedere efficacemente alla tranquilità dei Vicari Apostolici, e dei missionari cola dimoranti, ed alla causa della religione, la quale per questo dissidio non puó non provare detrimento.

The report of the Acta of the General Assembly of June 11, 1839, shows that the dissidents were on the verge of a schism even before the publication of the bull *Multa praeclare*. The Holy Father through the letter of January 4, 1837, warned them "how great an evil in resisting to the Apostolic authority". Through this letter the Holy Father informed them: "sed enim quia Meliaporensis Vicarius deplorando consilio jus suum jam a Nobis suprema auctoritate irritatum tueri porrexit, vos que eidem contra majoris auctoritatis jussionem obsecundastis, scandalum magnum in populo et cleri schisma consequutum est. Cui gravissimo malo ut quamprimum medeamini, et finem denique imponatis, plenam praestando Sanctae huic Sedi obbedientiam, id vobis denuntiat, ac praecipit Catholica ipsa Religio, quam profitemini". The same matter His Holiness expressed in the letter sent to the Vicar Capitular of Goa, Paolo Antonio Dias, on January 8, 1837. (These two letters were given in the *sommario* at the end of the report of the General Assembly of February 19, 1839). So the cardinals concluded that it did not seem that the dissidents changed their behaviour with the accomplishment of what was given in the brief *Multa praeclare* in which the Holy Father affirmed: "Non dubitamus denique eos, qui hactenus voluntati nostrae restiterunt, suscepturos esse saniora consilia, et a gravissimo schismaticis malo, alienos ex animo esse futuros". See APF, *Acta 202*, ff. 185r-v. Seeing the dissidence of the Padroado clergy, the apostolic vicars in India, especially O'Connor, asked Propaganda to send another brief making them schismatics. The General Assembly held on April 22, 1839, on the basis of this letter discussed whether it would necessary that the Holy Father clearly declare those dissidents as schismatics. But R.P. Perrone, sj, the Consultor of the Congregation of Propaganda, who was charged to study the matter, held the view that because of many prudential motives, it would not be expedient then to proceed with a juridical declaration. See APF, *Acta 202*, ff. 186r-187r. So the General Assembly of Propaganda of June 11, 1839 basing its judgement on the mind of Perrone decided to send a monitorium to the Goan clergy, which was sent on July 23, 1839. See APF, *Lettere 322*, ff. 729r-731r. See the opinion of Fr. Perrone in APF, *Acta 202*, ff. 192v-193r.

158 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 185v.

159 See the words of Acta: "... nel Vicariato Apostolico di Madras per parte di quelli che reclamando i diritti del vescovado di S. Thome, non vogliono obbedire al Vicario Apostolico di Madras, alla di cui giurisdizione dalla S. Sede sono ora stati sottomessi". APF, *Acta 202*, f. 185v. When O'Connor got the copy of *Multa praeclare* on August 27, 1838, he published it in English and circulated among the people showing the legitimacy and competency of the apostolic vicar and the annulment of the diocese of Mylapur. See the details in APF, *SOCG 955*, ff. 449r-452r. O'Connor's letter on Madras is found in APF, *Acta 202*, f. 191v. About the state of the Church at Bombay, see the letter of the apostolic vicar of Bombay in APF, *Acta 202*, ff. 190r-191v.

especially with regard to the handing over of the revenues of the diocese of St. Thome to the apostolic vicar, O'Connor[160]. The situation at Bombay in the coming years became worse, owing to the existence of the two jurisdictions of Padroado and Propaganda[161].

5.6.1. Situation of the Church in Malabar

With the letter of August 24, 1838[162], Msgr. Francis Xavier, the apostolic vicar of Malabar informed Propaganda that Neves, the ecclesiastical governor of Kochi, with his writings propagated the schism in the whole of Malabar and was spreading calumnies against the apostolic vicars of Malabar and Madras[163]. In this regarding he wrote:

[160] The troubles which Fr. Antonio Teixeira caused in Madras is given in APF, *Acta 202*, ff. 185v-186r. When the schismatics in Madras were persistent in their resolve of not handing over the revenues to the apostolic vicar of Madras, Propaganda wrote on December 20, 1838, to the apostolic vicar of London to inform the secretary of the Minister of the Colonies recommending that the Governor in India intervene in the matter for the sake of the Holy See. Consequently, the minister of the Colonies wrote to the Governor in India for the necessary procedure. But the judges of the Tribunal of the East India Company, as the letter of O'Connor of February 16, 1839, showed, as Protestants held the view that the Goans could enjoy the revenues until the documents of legitimate authority proved that the revenues belonged to the apostolic vicar of Madras. So O'Connor held that Propaganda should produce a document showing that the Padroadists in Madras were schismatics and, therefore, the legitimate authority was the apostolic vicar, representative of Propaganda. With this view O'Connor wrote to Propaganda telling that the Holy Father might "denuntiare schismaticos omnes, qui Brevi Apostolico Multa praeclare resistunt, obedientiam Vicariis Apostolicis vi illius praestandam recusando... decernens quoque omnes istos in reatum, ac paenam schismatis incurrisse ... idque quam celerrime, ut non amplius fingerent sibi ipsis, Sedem Apostolicam insciam fuisse eorum, quae a S. Congregatione facta fuerunt hac de re .... Si aliqua remanisset spes emendationis, non ita admomeremus. Sed quia completa est malitia illorum, citius denuntientur, melius esset, ut non diutius pervertant". But the answer to O'Connor from Rome was not satisfactory. See APF, *Acta 202*, ff. 186r-187r.

[161] In 1841 diplomatic relations between Portugal and Vatican were re-established and in 1843 a new archbishop was appointed at Goa in the person of José Maria da Silva Torres, which again complicated the situation. Regarding this action, Miller wrote: "Gregory XVI had confirmed for Goa the Benedictine Silva Torres under somewhat ambiguous conditions. The Pope publically recognized the Portuguese rights of patronage in the *Estado da India* but in a private letter to the archbishop he informed him that this jurisdiction was limited to Goa and that he should not interfere in the jurisdiction of newly-erected apostolic vicariates". MILLER, *Portugal and Rome*, 348. Silva Torres' renunciation of office in 1849—a renunciation accepted by Pius IX in 1851—and the consequent events till the concordat in 1857 were all negative results of *Multa praeclare*. See the details in MARTINA, *Pio IX*, 384-388; METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 404-423.

[162] See this letter in APF, *SC IO 6*, ff. 519r-520v. This letter was written to the Prefect of Propaganda from Varapuzha on August 24, 1838.

[163] See APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519r; also APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 86r.

> In the face of schism he wrote that we two are liars. As a proof he said that he got a letter from Your Eminence dated July 1837 in which he was granted the title of the governor of the diocese of Kochi[164].

Counteracting the writings of Neves, Francis Xavier on April 3 wrote that Neves was separating himself from the Holy See[165]. Seeing his persistence in not accepting the apostolic vicars, Francis Xavier held that:

> He did not give up the schism, instead he showed himself very obstinate as shown from the two impertinent letters which he wrote in May to the governor of Kodungalloor.... The principal of them is Fr. Francis Torres[166], our rebel, who in his hypocrisy, schrewedness, deceit, fraud and lie, has no equal[167].

Seeing the efforts of the Padroado clergy to hold to the right of patronage, preaching even against the authority of Pope, Francis Xavier on April 9, 1838, wrote a circular letter prohibiting his subjects to have ecclesiastical communion with those who maintain the schism[168].

[164] APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519r, "In quanto alla faccia di scismatico, si contento di dire che noi due siamo bugiardi; e per prova della nostra bugia dice, che egli ha ricevuto una lettera di V.E. scrittali nel Luglio 1837 nella quale gli è dato il titolo di governatore del vescovado di Coccino.... (underline is of the archivist).

[165] See APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519r. In this work he showed why Neves went against the Pope, the troubles he was making in the Church of Malabar, and the necessity of accepting the legitimate authority in the Church. Francis Xavier then sent this writing to the apostolic vicar of Madras, O'Connor and to the apostolic vicar of Pondicherry, Clement Bonnand, to get their approval. See the details in APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519r.

[166] He was the parish priest of Mattancherry, which was the main church in the diocese of Kochi. Neves made it his cathedral. See APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 542v.

[167] APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519r, "... ma non ha cessato dalla scisma; anzi vi si mostra più ostinato, come apparisce da due sue impertinentissime lettere scritte in Maggio al governatore di Cranganor. Il principale di tutti costoro è il celebre prete Francesco Torres, nostro ribelle, che certamente nell'ipocrasia, astuzia, raggiri, inganni, menzogna ed ogni specie di malizia non ha l'eguale".

[168] See APF, *SC IO 6*, ff. 519r-v. He was of the opinion that his letter brought forth good effects. He reported that the big parish of Mattancherry, of which Fr. Torres was the parish priest, abbandoned the schism. But Torres with the support of a group of people—almost all were fishermen—remained in the parish and kept with him the goods of the church. He sought also the help of the Protestants who lived at Kochi. See the details in APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519v. Francis Xavier reported that his missionaries kept away from the schism and they also used all their force to extirpate the schism from Malabar.

In May the Christians of Mangalore (the principal town in Canara) wrote to the apostolic vicars of Malabar, Pondicherry, Madras and Goa to inquire about the legitimacy of the authority of Goan archbishop. Although the province of Canara was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Goa, since the time of the coming of the English the faithful in Canara showed their preference for the apostolic vicar of Malabar. See the details in APF, *Lettere 320*, f. 1353r; APF, *Udienze 90*, f. 706r; APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 85r; APF, *Miscellanee Diverse 28* (unnumbered fasc.). After the event of *Multa praeclare*, according to the

Soon after the brief *Multa praeclare* reached Malabar on Septemebr 4, 1838, as the letter of Francis Xavier[169] indicated, he promulgated it in whole Malabar but with little effect in the ex-diocese of Kochi[170]. Fr. Ludvicus[171], the missionary in Malabar, in his letter of February 2, 1839[172], informed the Prefect of Propaganda that the difficulties which Neves and his party caused to the Catholic Church in Malabar were great[173]. Although Francis Xavier sent a copy of the brief together with an exhortive letter to ex-governor Neves[174], it was of no use since the schismatics accused that the brief and the circular letters were composed by the apostolic vicars in India and, therefore, were false[175]. Regarding this unhappy situation, Francis Xavier informed Propaganda:

will of the faithful in Canara, Pope Gregory XVI recognized Francis Xavier, the apostolic vicar of Malabar as their ordinary. See APF, *Lettere 325*, ff. 189r-v (letter from Propaganda to Francis Xavier dated March 6, 1841).

169 A letter which Francis Xavier wrote on October 18, 1838, to the Prefect of Propaganda describing the situation of Malabar after the publication of *Multa praeclare* in Malabar. See this letter in APF, *SOCG 955*, ff. 396r-397r. A part of this letter (*Paragrafo di lettera di Monsig. Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli nel Malabar risguardante la dissensione perdurante nell' Indie dopo giunto il Breve Multa praeclare della Santità di Nostro Signore)* is given in APF, *Acta 202*, ff. 189r-v (*sommario* no. 1).

170 See APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 542v.

171 After the publication of *Multa praeclare*, taking into consideration of the vastness of the apostolic vicariate of Malabar, Fr. Ludvicus was appointed the coadjutor to Francis Xavier. See the details in APF, *Acta 202*, ff. 42r-43r.

172 See the letter which Fr. Ludvicus, apostolic missionary in Malabar, wrote on February 2, 1839 (from Mattanchery) to the Prefect of Propaganda in APF, *SOCG 955*, ff. 398r-399v. A part of this letter *(Lettera del P. Ludvicus di S. Teresa Carmelitano Scalzo Missionario nel Malabar sullo stato attuale della medesima dissensione*) is given in APF, *Acta 202*, ff. 190r-v.

173 See APF, *Acta 202*, f. 190r.

174 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 189r.

175 See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 148v. As the reason why the bull was false, they said that it had no signature, no pontifical seal and also they were not informed from Rome. Fr. Ludvicus wrote about the same in his letter of February 2, 1839: "Egli con i suoi seguaci dicono, che al Breve il S. Padre non ha sottoscritto, e posto che vi fosse la sua firma, cio non ostante potrebbero, come fanno, *tutta conscientia* proseguire nelle loro pretensioni senza punto dipendere dal Vicario Apostolico, conforme il Breve; perché non v'è apposta alcuna pena o censura, che essi la pretenderebbero, essendo accostumati a questi Governi tirannici Gentili". APF, *Acta 202*, f. 190r.

> Neves and his partisans continue in their acts as before and in the ecclesiastical functions although they are devoid of all ecclesiastical authority. On the contrary, Neves continues to grant the dispensations from the matrimonial impediments[176].

Although Neves could find 12 Syrian priests of the archdiocese of Kodungalloor to stand against the decision of Pope, no Syrian parish declared obedience against the apostolic vicar[177]. Francis Xavier wrote:

> He [Neves] however could excite grave disorders in some parishes and almost a hundred seculars, known for their impudence, were imbued with his refractory spirit. Of the 74 parishes (4 Latin and 70 Syrian) already 63 have given me obedience: these have almost 6,000 faithful. There remain eleven. I hope, however, that all soon will obey the bull[178].

Neves maintained good relations with the Protestants rather than with the apostolic vicars, as Fr. Ludvicus held, to get the protection of the English government[179].

Francis Xavier held that the pagan kings of Malabar had nothing to do with the schism, since they were then dominated by the English Residents[180]. He added that the English government had declared many times that they would not interfere in the ecclesiastical affairs[181]. See the words of Francis Xavier regarding the same:

176 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 189r. Francis Xavier wrote that till then only 19 parishes and 3 priests came under his jurisdiction. And all others remained under Neves. Neves induced many of the parishes of Kodungalloor to remain with him or hindered them from obeying the apostolic vicar. See the details in APF, *SOCG 955*, f. 396v.

177 See APF, *Acta 202*, f. 189v.

178 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 189v, "Ha però ottenuto di eccitare dei disordini molto gravi in qualche chiesa, e d' imbevere del suo spirito refratario qualche centinaio di secolari gia notabili per la loro sfrontatezza. Delle 74 parrocchie (4 Latine e 70 Soriane) già 63 mi hanno dato ubbidienza: queste contengono circa 6000 anime. Restano 11.... Spero però che in breve tutte ubbidiranno alla Bolla".

179 See APF, *SC IO 5*, f. 148v.

180 See the importance which the Residents already acquired in Thiruvithamkoor and Kochi in chapter 4, pp. 232-237.

181 See APF, *Acta 202*, f. 189v. After the publication of *Multa praeclare* and during the course of schism in Madras, O'Connor, the apostolic vicar of Madras, also wanted the intervention of the English government in the ecclesiastical affairs thereby to recognize the apostolic vicar as the legitimate authority of the Catholic Church in Madras. But the judges of the Tribunal of the Directors of the English Company recommended that he obtain the documents from Rome showing that the party of Teixeira was schismatic and that the apostolic vicar was the legitimate representative of the Holy See in Madras.

> Beneath this apparent pretext the Resident of Malabar ... denied protection to the Catholics; but *sotto mano* greatly favoured Neves and his group[182] with explicit injuries to the Catholics.... I wrote him two letters and sent an authentic copy of the Roman letters and requested him to make me recognized by the king as the head of all their Catholic subjects.... I got the news that he sent my letters to Madras. It would be of great utility if Propaganda could get either from the directors of the Company or from the royal ministers a recommendation or an order to the governors of India[183].

Although in October 1838 only two churches of Kochi followed the apostolic vicar, by February 2, 1839, as the letter of Ludvicus showed, 20 churches of Kochi followed the apostolic vicar, but 50 still remained under Neves[184].

5.6.2. In the archdiocese of Kodungalloor

Francis Xavier in the letter of March 14, 1838, informed the Congregation that Peixoto, the ecclesiastical governor of Kodungalloor, had embraced the schism since he accepted the pseudo-bishop of Mylapur as the real prelate[185]. Sensing the danger, the aposotlic vicar used all possible means to keep him away from the schism. Regarding the same he wrote:

> Immediately I wrote a strong letter to him [Peixoto] and I sent Fr. Ludvicus, my missionary. I showed him that he erred because of ignorance of the facts. Therefore, it was not difficult for me to induce him to revoke the evil and to bring him in the right path[186].

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182 The English government favoured Neves, since Neves was very friendly to the Protestants. This is supported by the testimony of Fr. Ludvicus in his letter of February 2, 1839. See APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 542v.

183 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 189v, "Sotto questo apparente pretesto il Residente del Malabar ... ha costantamente negato ai Cattolici la sua protezione; ma *sotto mano* ha favorito molto il Neves, e suoi Scismatici con manifeste ingiustizie ai Cattolici.... Gli scrissi due lettere, gli mandai autentiche copie degli scritti Romani; e lo pregai a farmi riconoscere dai Re come capo di tutti i loro sudditi Cattolici.... Ho avuto notizia, che egli mando i miei scritti in Madras. Se fosse possibile a Propaganda ottenere in Londra o dai direttori della Compagnia, o dai Ministri Regi un ordine o una raccomandazione ai Governi dell'India, sarebbe di grande utilità". Regarding the neutrality of the British Resident in Malabar, Josef Metzler writes: "Der britische Präsident von Malabar hielt sich neutral. Er verwies auf eine aus London erhaltene Verlautbarung, sich nicht in den Streit der kirchlichen Parteien einzumischen". METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 405.

184 See APF, *Acta 202*, f. 190v. Through his letter he requested the Congregation to send a letter consoling the apprehensive faithful and exhorting the dissident ones. He wrote: "per non tediarla di più taccio le persecuzioni, ed insidie tese, e che vanno tentando contro di me specialmente, che sto nel vescovato circondato da simili cani mastini...".

185 See APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 399r.

186 APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 399r, "L'altro Portoghese, mio vicino, do Porto Peixoto, governatore ecclesiastico di Cranganor, era materialmente cascato nella scisma trattando come vero prelato il pseudo-vescovo di

Francis Xavier in another letter of August 24, 1838, informed Propaganda that the ecclesiastical governor of Kodungalloor was almost in schism[187]. Before the promulgation of *Multa praeclare* in Malabar, on July 29, 1838, Peixoto died at the age of 78[188]. Msgr. Francis Xavier commented that he died united with the Catholic Church[189]. Before his death Peixoto expresed the wish that the Syrians in his archdiocese would go the jurisdiction of the apostolic vicar of Malabar[190]. Francis Xavier in his letter of March 14, 1838, wrote about the ecclesiastical governor:

> His enmity to Neves made him also hateful to the pseudo-archbishop of Goa.... Before his death he willed that his Syrians might not fall into schism.... He wished also that after his death his faithful should remain under the apostolic vicar because of the order of the Holy See since there existed no authority other than the Holy See which would give a legitimate superior[191].

Just after the death of Peixoto, according to the will of their governor, the Syrians determined to hold the *yogam* of the Syrians to decide on the matter[192].

In the letter of February 2, 1839, Fr. Ludvicus informed the Congregation that the whole archdiocese of Kodungalloor declared obedience to the apostolic vicar[193].

Meliapur. Subito che io lo seppi, gli scrissi una forte lettera, e gli mandai il P. Ludvico, mio missionario. Scoprimmo, che aveva errato per ignoranza di fatto. Percio non fu difficile a indurlo a rivocare il mal fatto, e a rimetterlo, e fissarlo nel buon cammino".

187 See APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519v.

188 APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519v.

189 See APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519v. He added that Peixoto became enemy to Neves as he accepted the decision of the Holy See.

190 See METZLER, *Die Missionen*, 406.

191 APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519v, "Questa sua inimicizia lo aveva reso odiosissimo al pseudo-arcivescovo di Goa.... Lui ha voluto prevenire lo scisma tra i suoi Soriani... che alla sua morte per gli ordini della S. Sede tutta la diocesi resterebbe devoluta al vicario apostolico, giacché non esisteva nell'Indie alcuna legitima autorità, che li potesse dare altro legitimo superiore". Francis Xavier reported that although Peixoto made known his will to some of his priests, he could not make it known to the public. He continued: "although the whole diocese knows it nobody comes to me to give the obedience. They say that they will come, but they do not come".

192 See APF, *SC IO 6*, f. 519v.

193 See APF, *Acta 202*, f. 190r.

However, Fr. Ludvicus saw the danger due to the presence of the schismatics at the head of the Church, i.e., Neves in Kochi. Note his words:

> The whole archdiocese of Kodungalloor has given the obedience, but slowly they may embrace the schism due to the deception of these schismatic heads, unless the Congregation provides a prompt and efficacious remedy[194].

5.7. Further events

After having been elected the archbishop[195], Msgr. Francis Xavier wrote to the Congregation[196] that on the occasion of his new dignity as archbishop he appealed to Neves[197] and his adherents for conversion. But Neves answered him in writing that the Pope had already sent three bulls to Lisbon for three Portuguese bishops for India and that the new prelate for Kochi was Joackim of St. Rita[198]. He also stated that 65 churches of the ex-diocese of Kochi came to the apostolic vicar[199].

194 APF, *Acta 202*, f. 190r, "Tutto l'arcivescovado di Cranganore ha dato obbedienza; ma forse a poco a poco abbraccera lo scisma per gl'inganni di questi capi scismatici, se la Sacra Congregazione non vi pone un pronto ed efficace rimedio".

195 On April 10, 1840, Francis Xavier was made the archbishop with the title archbishop of Sardes by Pope Gregory XVI with the brief *Apostolatus officium*. See *Jus Pontificium V*, 228-229. The reason for this election is given follows: "Il vescovo di Amata, vicario apostolico del Malabar espone di avere soggetti alla sua spirituale giurisdizione circa 100,000 siro-caldei cattolici, che fin dai secoli più remoti hanno sempre avuto per capo un prelato col titolo di arcivescovo. Fin da che si sottomisero alla Bolla Multa praeclare hanno mostrato desiderio che il loro nuovo superiore continuasse ad avere almeno ad honorem lo stesso titolo. I compagni del vicario apostolico /per di cui consiglio scrive questo paragrafo/ sono di parere che se il vicario apostolico avesse il titolo di una qualche arcivescovato in partibus cio servirebbe non solo per contentare e confermare i siro-caldei, ma attesa la vanità commune negli orientali, potrebbe agevolare la conversione degli scismatici almeno di molti. Quindi è che è pregata Vostra Santità a degnarsi di accordare qualora la crede opportuno, in vista dell'esposto, il titolo arcivescovile richiesto...". APF, *Udienze 92*, f. 402r. Sardes is in Turkey. This act displeased Neves and he considered it a ridicule of Padroado by the Propagandists. See APF, *SC IO 7*, ff. 546r-547r. (underline is of the archivist).

196 He wrote on August 14, 1840, to the Prefect of Propaganda. See this letter in APF, *SC IO 7*, ff. 542r-543v.

197 His letter to Neves of July 5, 1840, is given in APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 544r and the answer by Neves on July 14, 1840, in APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 545r.

198 See APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 542r.

199 See APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 542v.

With regard to the handing over of the revenues of the parish of Mattancherry, Francis Xavier asked the help of the English Resident[200]. However, the Resident answered that the court of the Directors of the Company ordered the governor of India not to intervene either directly or indirectly in the spiritual or in the temporal affairs either among the Catholics or among the schismatics[201].

In a letter of September 14, 1840, Francis Xavier informed the Congregation that in central Malabar only two churches and two oratories were in schism; all others were under the apostolic vicar[202]. He then wrote about the activities of the schismatics:

> The Goan and Malabar schismatic priests, who deceive the poor and ignorant people, could not convert anyone. The head of the schismatics continue to delude his followers with false promises. A few days ago he republished[203] the writing in which he announced the arrival of the bishop of Kochi in this month. But he did not mention with what bull he will be provided whether with that of the Pope of Rome or of the popess of Portugal[204].

The temporal suppression of Padroado jurisdiction and the consequent end of the conflicts between the two jurisdictions in the Malabar Church did not satisfy the Suriani Catholics. The old aspirations of the Mar Thoma Christians—who were not content under the foreign Latin rule—still constrained them to go on with their demand and request for self rule.

200 APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 544v.

201 APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 542v. The same answer O'Connor received when he asked for the intervention of the British government to get the revenues of the ex-diocese of Madras. As the government denied help, two missionaries and some parishoners closed the church and watched it so that Neves might not enter in to celebrate the Holy Mass. As Neves could find no help from the government nor from the parishoners, the church came under the apostolic vicariate of Malabar. See the detalis in APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 542v. Although the parish church came under the apostolic vicar, the parochial house still belonged to the schismatic priest.

202 See APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 574v. The same thing is expressed by Fr. Ludvicus, the coadjutor to Francis Xavier, that already 72 churches with 36,000 souls left the schism.

203 It was the republication of what he already had published some months back. See APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 572r.

204 APF, *SC IO 7*, f. 574v, "I preti goani e malabaresi che inganno alla povera e ignorantissima gente non hanno potuto convertire neppure uno. Il capo dei scismatici continua a deludere i suoi seguaci con false promesse; è poco tempo che ha republicato un suo scritto, nel quale annuncia colla massima sicuranza l'arrivo in questa mese nel Malabar di un nuovo vescovo di Coccino; ma non dice niente di quali bolle sara munito, se del papa di Roma o della papessa di Portogallo". He ontinued: "although my coadjutor, Ludvicus told me that it would be better that Rome would excommunicate Neves with bull, I replied that it would not help because Neves and his associates would soon deny it preaching that it was against the natural law". Francis Xavier was of opinion that a prompt erection of new apostolic vicariates would be better. See APF, *SC IO 7*, ff. 574v-575r.

CHAPTER 6

General Conclusion

With the birth of the nineteenth century, the Mar Thoma Christians of Kerala witnessed on the political level, a transfer of power from the native to the English rule and, on the ecclesiastical level, a riveting of power in the hands of foreign rulers against the unavailing hope of the natives for a self-rule. The history of the Church in Malabar beginning from the year 1800 till 1838 was particularly notable in the sense that the two jurisdictions then ruling the Suriani Catholics of Kerala, Portuguese *Padroado* and *Propaganda*, were in open conflicts; the former to establish its existence and the latter to show its might in the battlefield of the Suriani Catholic Church.

The period of our study begins with one schism, viz. the Pandari schism, and ends with another, the Goan schism with the temporal suppression of Padroado jurisdiction by Rome. While Pandari schism affected only the Suriani Catholic Church, the latter one affected this Church least, but causing deep disturbance in the Latin Church in India under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Padroado. It is interesting to note that while the first schism is known by the name of a person, the second one bears the name of a place or ecclesiastical province. This shows the nature and the extension of the schism: the first, centering a person, durated only nine months; the second involving an ecclesiastical province, continued years but in another form. Historians differ in their opinions regarding these schisms based on the interpretation of the situation and the aim of the dissidents.

The divided community of the Mar Thoma Christians suffered much due to the existence of two jurisdictions in Malabar. We see the timely efforts on the part of the Suriani Catholics to get their own leader for their community. It is not an exaggeration to think that a community, which was upholding her ecclesial heritage and status, felt that only someone of their own could help them fulfill their aspirations. Their failed endeavours naturally moved them to take harsh measures. The sudden death of Mar Cariattil made the Suriani Catholics desperate. The duplicity of the then Carmelite

missionaries towards the faithful, especially in failing to send their letters to Propaganda—when they were the representatives of Propaganda—made the Suriani Catholics antipathetic towards them. This was the background of the delegation to Baghdad.

The aim of the delegation seems to have been simply to set forth their complaints before the patriarch, to request him to inform Rome of their grievances, and to see to the wishes of their community as they had no other escape. But the vain hope of the delegates that they would be heard by the patriarch and answered positvely, was not fulfilled, for the patriarch was already dead. Mar John Hormez, then in charge of the patriarchate as the administrator, fished in troubled waters by appointing Paul Pandari as bishop. The election of Pandari as bishop, whether he willed it or whether he was compelled, is not clear. It is probable that Baghdad, looking for a chance to establish a hold over the Suriani Catholics of Malabar with claims upon the past, might have made use of Pandari to exploit the situations.

The authority of the Chaldean patriarch over the Suriani Catholics was not clear to anybody, including Rome. The Udayamperoor (Diamper) Synod which condemned the Chaldean patriarch is to be questioned, a judgement based on the competency of the authority of the convocation. Accordingly, whether the patriarch had the right to send a bishop to Malabar is ambiguous. The question became not the competency of the patriarch, but the prior consent of the Holy See, which should have been obtained. But John Hormez had his own excuses. The long silence of Rome encouraged him to take risks, but he should have been prudent enough to know the reason for the silence of the Holy See. It is true that the French invasion of Rome rendered a prompt answer impossible on the part of Propaganda, so Propaganda too has excuses. The authorities escaped with such excusess, but the 'bold' Pandari had to suffer for the sake of the Church. Out of his love for the Church he accepted the office of bishop with gladness, not foreseeing the negative results. If he had looked ahead to the danger, he would have an answer to the difficulties which he later faced in his own land.

Hormez sent two of his priests to Malabar along with the new bishop, an action that shows his intention and interest in still patronizing the Malabar Church, which would be quite normal on the part of the Chaldean Church. Did Hormez foresee the difficulties which would arise from his imprudent act? He knew well that the Carmelites were the presumed patrons of the Suriani Catholics in the name of Propaganda and that they would not let anything stand in their way. Hormez might have thought of this appointment as reinforcement of his old claim over the Church in Malabar. Although in the letter sent to Rome, Hormez explained that his intention was just to provide for the Suriani Catholics in their urgent need, behind this action there was the self-interest of the administrator. With this act, the Chaldean Church was ascertaining their claim over the Malabar Church against the demand of the Latin prelates over the same. With

the negative answer from Rome, Hormez had to give up his plan of re-establishing the tutelage over the Suriani Catholics by calling Pandari back. Thus as Rome decreed, Pandari was suspended of the functions of his episcopal office.

The ecclesiastical administrator, Thomas Paremmakkal, did not accept Pandari as ordinary. Pandari who conversed with the apostolic vicar, Aloysius Mary, and with Paremmakkal could not prove his legitimacy and competency as a rightful bishop. Paremmakkal, very prudent and loyal to the Holy See, did not accept Pandari, although he was a co-national whom the people should have received with great applause. Pandari got support from influential lay people, who were looking for a chance to have their own prelate as their leader, but nothing forced Paremmakkal to accept Pandari as bishop. Even when Paremmakkal was on his death-bed he could not accept Pandari as the legitimate ordinary of his people, a fact which shows the loyalty and faith of Paremmakkal. Aloysius Mary, the apostolic vicar, whose attitude towards Pandari was not very hard, did not accept him, not only because Pandari was unauthorized but also because it was against the Carmelites' policy.

It is very difficult to judge the Pandari's intention in being ordained and with little hope going to Malabar with the assistance of two Chaldean priests. Although Pandari exercised no function as bishop as long as Paremmakkal lived, after the death of the administrator with the help of some faithful, especially of the influential Mathu Tharakan, Pandari came to the front. The new ecclesiastical governor Kattakayathil was influenced by Pandari, as Kattakayathil having little experience and being new in his office was imbued with a fighting spirit against the foreign Latin rule. Then too he might have found this occasion as the best to bring in Pandari as their prelate as the fulfillment of Suriani dreams. The situation in the diocese of Kochi contributed to this state of affairs. Kochi always demanded the overlordship over Kodungalloor, especially in the vacancy of the archdiocese when Paremmakkal was dead. Since the bishop of Kochi was dead and there was no bishop to administer sacraments in Kochi and Kodungalloor, Pandari was present to function as bishop and to become the assumed head of the Suriani Catholics and the people—although not all—normally accepted him.

Mar Dionysius, desperate with the failure of his two former attempts, was looking for a good chance to fulfill his aspiration of becoming united with the Catholic Church. Whatever his intention might have been, it was quite natural for him to hope to have his aim fulfilled with the help of Pandari. But the times worked against him. His third attempt too failed, although for some days they could be proud of being called Catholics. With the appointment of the new ecclesiastical administrator, Geevarghese Sankoorickal, with authorization of the archbishop of Goa, the so-called Pandari schism

ended. Pandari showed no opposition to accept the decision of legitimate authority, nor did the faction which followed him.

The schism was over, yet the community was again divided under Padroado and Propaganda, thereby aggravating the conflicts between the two jurisdictions in their efforts to retain their existence and show their might and dominance. In this play the Chaldean Church did not lose. The decision of the Holy See to send Iso'yahb Guriel, the bishop of Salsmut, as apostolic delegate, and Msgr. Alcantara as apostolic visitor to Malabar to study the problem and to find a solution was not executed. In the General Assembly of April 13, 1807, the cardinals again discussed this problem and were sure that the Roman delegation did not take place. The lack of interest of the Carmelites, the waste-of-time-and-energy mentality of the Chaldean Church and the 'go slow' attitude of Rome left the Malabar Church again to 'live in hope'—or to begin anew. We should not deny the fact that not all the aspirations and demands of the Suriani Catholics were right and just: the end cannot justify the means. At any rate, the Pandari schism—whether it can rightly be called a schism or not—was a decayed fruit of the vain hope of the Suriani Catholics for self-rule against the foreign Latin rule.

The first four decades in the nineteenth century witnessed six apostolic vicars as the heads of the Suriani Catholic Church. Among whom Raimond, Prendergast and Stabellini were suspended from their offices; Francis Xavier rejected the office at first; and Alcantara was as a temporal adjustment. Only Francis Xavier could show a better history as the prelate of the Suriani Catholics during this period. From the very beginning of his office Francis Xavier himself asked his superior to rid him of the difficult task of ruling the Malabar Christians.

Normally one should ask what happened to these prelates for their unhappy performances in Malabar. Is it because of their lack of knowledge of the mission where they had been? All of them except Prendergast had prior knowledge of the Indian missions and all worked many years either in Varapuzha mission or elsewhere in India. Raimond was in Malabar for 14 years before his appointment as apostolic vicar of Malabar. Stabellini also had enough experience of Malabar, especially as he had been appointed to study the case of Prendergast. Therefore, he could have sensed the circumstances—whether favourable or unfavourable—in Malabar towards the foreign missionary and should have avoided the occasions for further scandal. Accordingly, their failure should not be attributed to the lack of prior experience in the mission.

These ecclesiastics should not be judged universally as each of them is different from the other, although all, except Prendergast, were Italian Carmelites. While the situation in Malabar during the last years of Aloysius Mary was against the missionaries because of the Pandari schism, his successor Raimond—even if times were better—showed a poor performance as apostolic vicar. There were many complaints against

him, not by the people of Malabar but from Msgrs. Alcantara and Francis Xavier and from Fr. Paulinus. The complaints of three different persons should not be considered lies. He died at the age of 64, not an advanced age and, therefore, there is no excuse for his scandals because of old age.

Msgr. Prendergast should be praised for the reforms he made in the Church of Malabar. He concentrated more on the education of the clergy and Church discipline, and he insisted that the clergy learn first of all the canons of the Synod of Udayamperoor. He enjoined the priests to read one or two chapters of the canons of this synod during the Holy Mass. This over-great insistence on the synod shows clearly the Latinizing attitude of this apostolic vicar, not too unlike the other apostolic vicars of our period.

From another point of view, Prendergast should be considered an unworthy prelate who caused much scandal to the faithful. The expectations Propaganda and the people had in Prendergast vanished in hearing the complaints which he made after his arrival in Malabar. From the very first months he expressed the wish to return to Ireland, his *patria*. The excuse that he who was acquainted with good society found it difficult to live in a poor environment, as held by Fr. John Luis, is unworthy since it is a betrayal of the meaning of mission work. Missionaries should have to adjust to the situations of the missions or at least try to accept them. Since he was Irish/English he could have done better service for the Church in Malabar as the English government was in support of him, which he himself knew. The complaints against him, many and varied, came not only from the people but also from Fr. Nicolas, his co-worker. The investigation made by Stabellini according to the order of Propaganda revealed that the complaints were not baseless and, therefore, his removal from office was the best remedy to save him and the Church.

Stabellini, who followed, had to face a difficult situation in his early years. He, who understood the difficulties of Prendergast and knew the situations of Malabar, again had to experience trying times during his office. Stabellini was not prudent enough to tackle the fishermen problem. He did not heed the opinions of the people nor the advice of his co-worker. His insistence in ordaining the fishermen, even against the idea of the precedent apostolic vicars and the silence of Propaganda and of his superiors, worsened the situation in Malabar. Whether he intended rightly, that superstition among the people should not be a hindrance in the execution of new and useful ideas in the Church, it would have been better if he had not insisted on the realization of his plans. Whatever his intentions, he should not have forgotten the situation of the missions. Alcantara, who knew Malabar and India better than Stabellini, advised him to withdraw from his plans, yet Stabellini insisted on the execution of his ideas stating that caste mentality had to be eradicated. Not questioning the *bona fide* of Stabellini, we doubt him only in his insistence to ordain the fishermen or in the haste he showed

to execute his plans, when we see the attitude in general of the foreign missionaries, who attributed to the natives ignorance, superstition, immorality and idolatory, and who considered the native clergy as second-class clergy not capable of holding responsible posts. The missionaries complained often about the ignorance of the native clergy, but it was up to them to bring the clergy up in their education and formation as they were the rulers of the Church for a long time. Did they intend to keep the native clergy as they were, always to be seen as second-rate compared to the missionaries? Stabellini could be justified if we believe that he wanted the ordination of fishermen because 'caste should not be a hindrance to the faith'. The decision of Rome to remove Stabellini and to appoint the experienced Francis Xavier as apostolic vicar of Malabar, prevented a more difficult situation in the Church, yet caused Stabellini to become hopeless and desperate.

Not forgetting the good things the apostolic vicars of our period accomplished, all except Francis Xavier, were failures. They failed to understand the land and the situation of the people. Their idea of mission was far from realistic. Those who had prior experience in India, failed also as they should have realized that each mission is different. This is true especially with regard to Malabar, where there is another situation due to many reasons. Malabar is not a mission field as such. As Fr. Perumthottam says, "the missionaries considered the Church of the Mar Thoma Christians just like a mission field and approached it as any other mission"[1]. Through the history of the Mar Thoma Christians we learn that it is an ancient organized Christian community with a sufficient number of clergy and good administrative system, having its own Church practices and rites. So compared with Europe or with the Latin Church traditions, the Church of the Suriani Catholics had a very different culture or life situation. No religion can exist unless in a culture. Thus the cultural differences have much to do with the religious heritage and Church practices. Christianity in Malabar became fully inculturated in the land. Speaking about the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar, Mr. Brown writes: "... we cannot tell how early the Christians became completely assimilated to local society and were no longer thought of as foreigners, but there is no doubt that this took place many centuries ago. The assimilation of the community to its enviornment is certainly one of the reasons for its survival through the centuries. ... There seems no doubt that it was the *cultus* which enabled the St. Thomas Christians to remain authentically Christian down the ages"[2]. However, the missionaires did not

1 PERUMTHOTTAM, *Period of Decline*, 343.

2 BROWN, *Indian Christians*, 3,5.

accept and respect the status and heritage of the Mar Thoma Christians. There was reality in telling that the people were ignorant and poor; however, ignorance and poverty is relative, and ignorance is not a hindrance to faith. The Suriani Catholics who claim age-old traditions and culture cannot be easily branded as ignorant people based on accusations of superstition, poverty, paganism and caste. As representatives of Rome, the missionaries assumed the superiority of status and looked upon themselves as patrons of the true Catholic faith. While there were negative aspects in the ecclesial life of the Mar Thoma Christians, but it would have been prudent to accept the people as they were and try to understand them in their life situations instead of judging their customs and practices as less Catholic.

The number of the missionaries in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar in the first three decades of the nineteenth century was less than the number of the apostolic vicars during this period. There were five apostolic vicars, but only three missionaries, namely Frs. Valentine, Prosper and Nicolas of Jesus Mary. Although during the time of Aloysius Mary, in the last decade of the eighteenth century there were four missionaries, towards the end of his time, i.e., the initial years of the nineteenth century, there was only one, Fr. Valentine. When he left Malabar in 1804, there was again only the young, inexperienced Fr. Prosper to help Msgr. Raimond for only in 1811 did Fr. Nicolas come. Till 1817 the two worked together with interruptions; in 1817 Prosper was transferred, leaving Nicolas alone in Malabar and in 1833 Nicolas was also transferred.

The missionaries of our period, except for Nicolas, leave us with a bad picture of their personalities. All including Nicolas were transferred due to their bad performance. In 1804 Valentine was forcefully transferred to Pisa. Although he wanted to remain in Malabar, as many of his later letters show, Propaganda did not allow him to do so because of recommendations of the General of the Carmelites. His literary contributions should not be forgotten, but his life witness as a missionary was not up to expectations, as indicated by Paulinus and Aloysius Mary. His impetuous and imprudent genius, lack of obedience and subordination were the main complaints against him for his transfer.

Fr. Prosper worked as a missionary for seven years alone in Malabar and seven years with Fr. Nicolas. Although his initial performance was good, he gradually lost the fervor of missionary work. The time he was alone in Malabar was less problematic than when he worked with Fr. Nicolas. Prosper quarrelled with Nicolas, and was also sometimes in conflict with Msgr. Raimond. One letter which Prosper wrote in 1814 from Bombay shows how inimical he was to Raimond. And if we believe the words of Prosper, how indecent Raminod had been as bishop. Although he learnt the language and the customs of the land in order to go with the people, his life was scandalous, as

witnessed by Francis Xavier, Alcantara and John Luis. When he was working with Nicolas he had to leave Malabar due to the complaints against him. He often showed the readiness to go back to Italy, but he remained in Malabar till 1817, only due to the compulsion of Alcantra. Since his scandals were so defamatory, he was prohibited from administering the sacraments. He was absolved from the censure after the confession of his sins before Alcantara and showing readiness for conversion.

For almost 15 years Fr. Nicolas of Jesus Mary, who worked in Malabar for 22 years, was the only missionary in Malabar. He witnessed the difficut days of Raimond, Prendergast and Stabellini; he had to face troubles also from Prosper. Although Prendergast did not like Nicolas, the latter worked hard under him. The complaints which Nicolas brought forward against Prendergast were found to be true as the study of Stabellini proved. Although in the first years of his office as apostolic vicar Stabellini trusted much in Nicolas, later came into open clash with him, using all means possible to remove Nicolas from Malabar. His letters against Nicolas made Alcantara believe that the complaints were true. The reason why Stabellini was so inimical was that Nicolas was against the policy of Stabellini in the admission of fishermen to the seminary of Varapuzha. The 'Calced-Discalced' discord was also a reason in this respect. Later when Francis Xavier became the apostolic vicar he could understand that many of the complaints against Nicolas were baseless, invented by Stabellini to belittle Nicolas. The obedient nature of Nicolas can be seen in the fact that Nicolas, without any complaint or excuse, obeyed the decision of the Congregation to leave Malabar after handing over the administration of the house of Varapuzha to the apostolic vicar.

It is worth mentioning that all the missionaries and the apostolic vicars during our period often wrote to the Propositor General of the Carmelites and to the Prefect of Propaganda that the mission of Malabar needed more and better missionaries. It shows that the mission was never content with the number of missionaries, for to administer the house, to teach the seminarians and to take care of the catechumenate there was need of many missionaries. These religious were owed a community life. How could that be possible when there was only one. The community life could have halted many scandalous activities of these religious missionaries. More missionaries may have changed the situation, both in the life of the missionaries and of the mission. Was it because of the diffficulty in finding the apt, good priests, as some letters show? Only one or two missionaries in such a vast mission and they too gave scandal to the faithful, not an ideal situation.

We see also that the apostolic vicars wrote to the Propositor General that they did not want to remain in Malabar since they found it difficult to proceed. This lament was made often by Prendergast and Francis Xavier, but the missionaries on the other hand liked Malabar and wanted to continue at Varapuzha. The apostolic vicars, who wrote to the superiors for the change, were not content. Such discontent surely resulted

in the degradation of the mission. In addition, it was all the more difficult for the Propagandists to go on peacefully in Malabar because of the Padroadists, who always caused troubles and difficulties.

After the Pandari schism, according to the order of the state authorities, the Suriani community had to remain in either of the jurisdictions. We see in the letters of the last years of Aloysius Mary that he desired to gain the obedience of all possible parishes of the Suriani Catholics. With the appointment of Sankoorickal, the divided community got their leaders in both jurisdictions in the persons of apostolic vicar and *governador* respectively, but after his death again the community vacillated. The ecclesiastical governors in the persons of Portuguese clergy, appointed by the Padroado authorities, were useless in the mission. Some did not even come to Malabar; so these were appointments only on paper and were just a device to keep up the status quo. Since the bishop of Kochi was then the enemy of the apostolic vicars, he wanted to show the overlordship of Padroado over the archdiocese of Kodungalloor. This confused not only the faithful, but also the Propaganda missionaries. We see the change of parishes from Varapuzha to Kodungalloor and to Kochi and vice versa, changes initiated by the leaders who were often behind these changes of parishes. The Propagandists and Padroadists clashed with each other in words on the basis of their rights. The worst was on the side of Padroado, not so much the Padroado head at Kodungalloor but of Kochi. The conflict of jurisdictions suffocated and confused the faithful, for whom there was no escape. Both jurisdictions were in search of victory, to get the greatest number of churches. At times had recourse to the state authorities and sometimes to the schismatics. The Protestant missions emerging in Thiruvithamkoor could have made use of this difficult situation in the Catholic Church of Malabar. Although the apostolic vicars wrote against the Protestants, the Padroado party sided with them. It would not have affected the Suriani Catholics so badly, if there had been more understanding and collaboration between the heads of both jurisdictions, who were the representatives of the same Catholic Church.

The tragic conflicts between the two jurisdictions in Malabar, one in search of its existence and the other to show its might, came to an end with the temporary suppression of Padroado in 1838. The bold move of Rome against the unnecessary demands of Padroado found success even amidst dissatisfactions and disobedience. Later Rome would realize that it was not as easy as it was hoped. The decision of Rome against the Padroado helped the Suriani Catholic Church in as much as this community which was divided under two jurisdictional heads came under one head, the apostolic vicar of Malabar. The protest in the diocese of Kochi against the decision of Rome affected the Suriani Church little. The Suriani Catholics under the ecclesiastical governor of Kodungalloor found no difficulty in accepting this decision of Rome since Peixoto, the ecclesiastical governor, had foreseen such a movement on the part of Rome

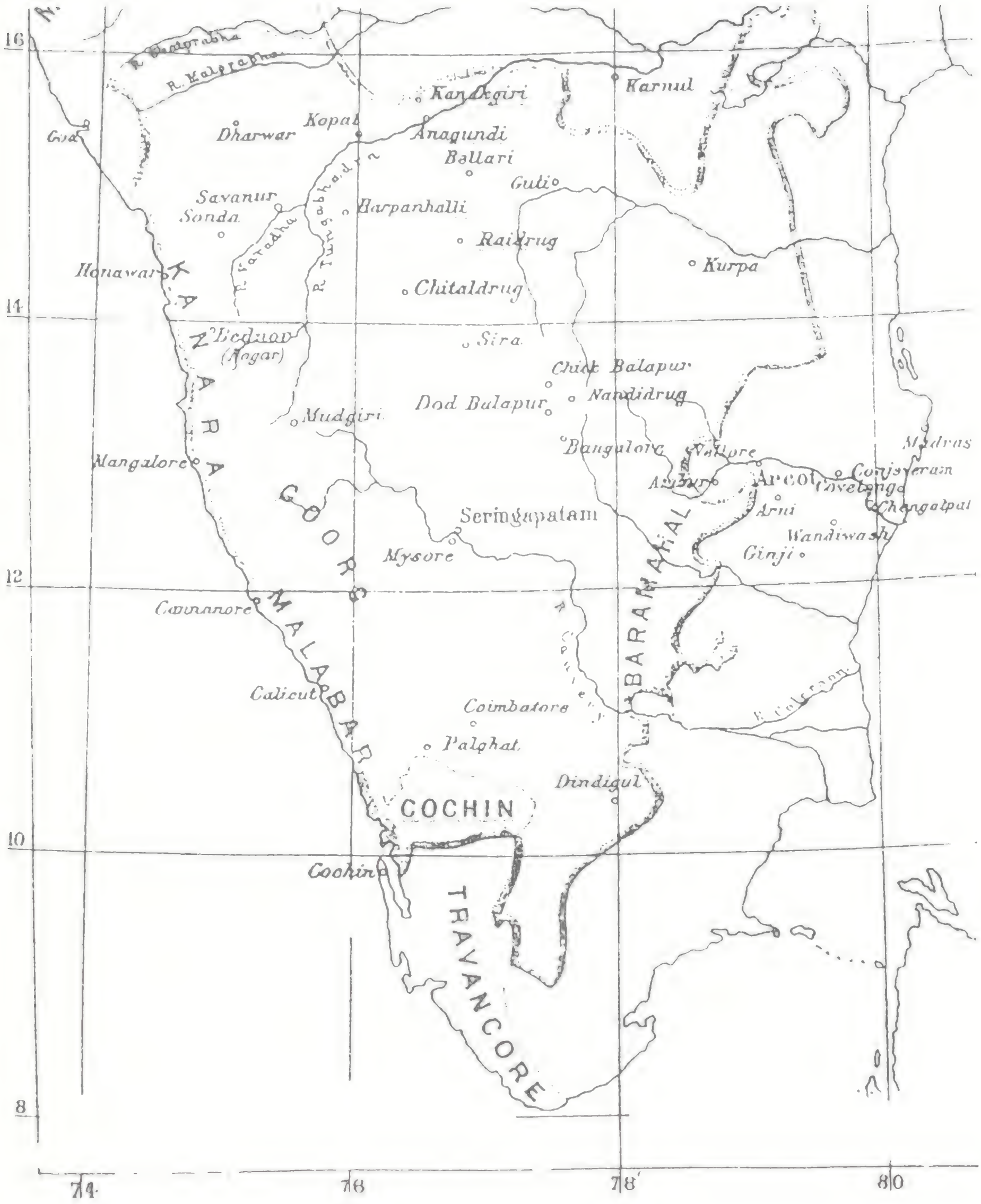
which he might have considered a necessity in the life of the Church in India. The Suriani Catholics, together with the apostolic vicar of Malabar, were happy and ready to receive this enactment of Rome: for the faithful, the community could come together; and for the apostolic vicar to become the head of all Suriani Catholics with an extended jurisdiction. The appointment of Msgr. Francis Xavier as archbishop with Ludvicus as his coadjutor in Varapuzha should have pleased both the head and the body of the Suriani Catholic Church. The Propagandists, in looking for exclusive jurisdiction over the Mar Thoma Christians, again assumed patronage over the Suriani Catholic Church, even in the face of their failed leadership; the Padroadists, in holding to an anachronistic existence on the basis of unjust demands, lost their unnecessary claim over the Malabar Church; and the Suriani Catholic Church, in being the battleground of this combat, lost nothing but the hope of self-rule—and received nothing but the courage to stand up again for her cause.

APPENDIX I

INDIA in 1805



APPENDIX II


N.
16
14
12
10
8
74
76
78
80
R. Bhagrabha
R. Kalpapha
Karnul
Kandgiri
Dharwar
Kopal
Anagundi
Goa
Ballari
Gutti
Savanur
Sonda
Harpanhalli
R. Tungabhadra
Raidrug
Honawar
Kurpa
Chitaldrug
Sira
Bednur
(Nagar)
Chik Balapur
Nandidrug
Dod Balapur
Mudgiri
Bangalore
Vellore
Madras
Mangalore
Arcot
Conjeveram
Tiveteenga
Chengalpat
Arni
Seringapatam
Wandiwash
Ginji
Mysore
Cannanore
MALABAR
Calicut
Coimbatore
Palghat
COROMANDEL
Dindigul
COCHIN
Cochin
TRAVANCORE

APPENDIX III



APPENDIX IV

List of the churches of the Suriani Catholics in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar in 1829[1].

Name of the parish	Title of the Church	Political dominion	No.of priests	No.of clerics	No.of Christians	Distance from Varapuzha	Chapels
Ernakulam	Bl. Virgin	Kochi	1		263	2 leagues	
Njarackal	"	"	6		774	1.5	
Parur	Ss.Gervasis &Prothasis	Thiruvithamkoor	3	4	1159	1.5	
Velianattu	Bl. Virgin	Kochi	2	2	1067	7	1
Kalloorcatt	"	Thiru.	5	2	1919	15	
Muzhikulam	"	"	7	1	1514	3	
Chovara	"	Kochi	1	1	225	5.5	
Kottamadi	St. Joseph	Thiru.	1	1	299	6.5	
Mangapara	Holy Cross	"	1	1	763	7	
Malayathur	St. Thomas	Kochi	2	1	1000	8	2
Cunakail	St. Theres	Thiru.	1		707	6.5	
Curupampadi	Ss.Pet.&Pa.	"			570	8	8
Kothamangalam	Bl. Virgin	"	2	2	657	8.5	
Karacunnam	"	"	1	1	244	8	

1 The list of the churches which Msgr. Maurilius Stabellini, the apostolic vicar of Malabar, presented to the Congregation of Propaganda together with the *relazione* of July 1, 1829. See the list in APF, *Acta 193*, f. 504v (*sommario*, no.2).

Mailacombu	St. Thomas	"	2	134	16	
Nagapuzha	Bl. Virgin	"	1 1	50	16	
Vadakara	St.Joh.Bap.	"	2 2	200	10	
Elanji	Ss.Pet.&Pa.	"	3 4	635	8	1
Kaduthuruty	Bl. Virgin	"	3 3	1098	10	3
Muttuchira	Holy Spirit	"	2 3	1315	10	1
Kothanallur	Ss.Gervasis &Prothasis	"	3	443	10.5	
Atirampuzha	Bl. Virgin	"	4 2	971	16	1
Kaipuzha	St. George	"	1	255	15.5	
Kottamalur	Bl. Virgin	"	2 3	1196	16	2
Tratupuzha	St. George	"	2 1	626	24	
Chennankari	St. Joseph	"	3 1	635	14	
Kozhimuku	St. George	"	4	1081	16.5	
Alappuzha	Holy Cross	"	3	1092	12	1
Tattanpally	St. Michael	"	2 3	453	11.5	
Muttettu	Bl. Virgin	"	3 2	695	9	
Perunturuty	St. George	"	1	219	10	
Kodavechur	Bl. Virgin	"	1	881	9.5	
Vaikom	St. Joseph	"	5	600	8	
Pallipuram S.	Bl. Virgin	"	3	500	8	
Kandanattu	"	"	2 1	144	4	
Neendakara	"	Kochi	1	285	3	
Tripunithura	"	"	1	463	3	
Kizhakam-balam	St. Antony	Thiru.	3	527	3	
Palluruthy	Bl. Virgin	Kochi	2	120	4	

Appendix V

The strength of the Suriani Catholic Church in the apostolic vicariate of Malabar in the year 1833[1].

Name of the parish	Title of the Church	Men	Women	Priests	Clerics	Total	Chapels
Njarackal	Bl. Virgin	478	468	4		950	
Parur	Ss.Gervasis &Prothasis	607	573	5	1	1176	
Muzhikulam	Bl. Virgin	763	758	6		1597	
Velianattu	"	578	518	4	1	1101	1
Malayathur	St. Thomas	161	170	1		332	1
Cheramallur	St. Fran. Xa.	284	282	2		568	
Mangapara	Holy Cross	445	486	1		982	
Kottamadi	St. Joseph	304	329	2		635	
Vallar	St. Theresa	367	358	1	2	728	
Chovara	"	224	220	2		446	
Aliudi	St. Dominic	87	87			174	
Angicaimal	Bl. Virgin	141	117	1	1	260	
Tripunithura	"	239	236	1	1	477	
Palluruthy	"	93	94			187	
Pallipuram S.	"	401	398	3	1	803	1
Vaikom	St. Joseph	596	565	5		1166	
Kalloorcatt	Bl. Virgin	1154	1067	6	2	2229	
Chennankari	St. Joseph	428	404	3		835	
Kozhimuku	St. George	553	487	3		1043	
Muttam	Assunta	754	759	5	2	1520	
Kaduthuruty	Bl. Vrigin	774	769	6		1549	3

[1] This list was presented to the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide by Msgr. Francis Xavier, the apostolic vicar of Malabar, on July 6, 1834. See the list in APF, *SC IO 5*, ff. 310v-311r.

Atirampuzha	Mater Dei	598	624	6	1	1229	1
Kaipuzha	St. George	141	137	1		279	
Muttuchira	Holy Spirit	653	663	1	1	1318	
Kodavechur	Mater Dei	478	475			953	
Tattanpally	St. Michael	275	273	4	1	553	
Alappuzha	Holy Cross	487	507	3		998	1
Perunturuty	St. George	122	102		2	226	
Neendakara	Bl. Virgin	121	145		1	267	
Chandarati	Salvatore	85	78			163	
Curupampadi	Ss.Pet.&Paul	283	283		2	568	
Mailacombu	St. Thomas	109	142	1		252	
Vadakara	St.John Bapt.	260	272	3		535	
Karacunnam	Bl. Virgin	151	152	2		305	
Kothamalur	Mater Dei	608	567	3	1	1179	2
Kothanalloor	Ss. Gervasis&Prot.	214	219	3		436	
Nagapuzha	Bl. Virgin	72	88	2		162	
Kizhaka-mbalam	St. Antony	282	321	3		606	
Kotha-mangalam	St. George	330	368	2	1	701	
Elanji	Ss.Peter&Paul	386	327	5	2	720	1
Tratupuzha	St. George	263	274	2	1	537	

Parishes	41
Chappels	11
Priests	105
Cleries	24
faithful	30612

Appendix VI

The Hon'ble Company
and the titular Bishop of Syria as Superior
of the Institution and Seminary at Verapoly
Declaration as to a perpetual loan of 3,000 pag[odas][1]

This Indenture made the seventh day of March in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight hundred and Nine Between the Hon'ble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies by their Governor of Council of their presidency of Fort Saint George of the one part and the reverend Fre. Raymondo Titular Bishop of Syria abd Apostolical Vicar General of Malabar presiding over the Catholic Institution and Seminary of Verapoly situate within the territories of Rajah of Travancore of the other part whereas the said Fre. Raymondo as the superior of the said Catholic Institution and Seminary of Verapoly hath lately through the resident of the said United Company at the court of the Rajah of Travancore made application to the Governor in Council of the said presidency of Fort Saint George for permission to make a perpetual loan to the said United Company of the sum of Threethousand Star Pagodas at the usual rate of Interest for similar loans the Interest of which to be exclusively applied for the support of the said Institution and Seminary at Verapoly, and for charitable funds, which application hath been agreed to by the Governor in Council of the said presidency and the said sum of Threethousand Star pgodas accepted and received into the treasury of the said United Company at Fort Saint George at thew rate of Eight per cent per annum and payable yearly. Now this Indenture witnesseth that the said United Company by their Governor in Council of the said Presidency of Fort Saint George for and in consideration of the said sum of Threethousand Star pagodas paid into the Treasury at Fort Saint George aforesaid by the said Fre.raymondo the recipt whereof the Governor in Council of the said Presidency does hereby acknowledge do hereby for themselves and theor successors covenant promise and agree to and with the said fre.Raymondo and his successors superiors for the time being of the said

[1] ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, 18r-21r (enclosure 1 of Zaleski to Ledochowski on June 1, 1894).

Institution and Seminary at Verapoly in manner and form following, that is to say, that the said United Company and their successsors and assigns shall and will at all times hereafter and particularly during the continuance of the present and any other charter of exclusive trade to India granted and to be granted to the said United Company pay or cause to be paid the yearly sum of two hundred and fourty Star Pagodas on the current money of Madras unto the Superior for the time being of the said Institution and Seminary and if there shall be afterwards any surplus remaining to and for charitable uses only provided always and it is hereby expressly agreed and declared between the parties to these presents and as a condition on which the said loan is accepted that the said United Company or their successors shall not be answerable or accountable for the misapplication or the nonapplication of the said yearly sum of twohundred and forty Star Pagodas or of any part thereof by any person or persons who may be entitled to have receive and dispose of the same or of any part thereof. Neverthless it is further agreed and declared that if any complaint or complaints shall at any time or times hereafter be made to the governor in Council of the said Presidency or other the Agents or representatives of the said United Company of any misapplication or nonapplication of the said of the said (*sic*) yearly sum of twohundred and forty Star Pagodas or of any part thereof or of any nonobservance or other abuse of the uses and trusts to which the same ought to be used and applied when it shall and may be lawful to and for the Govenor in Council of Fort Saint George or other the Agents or Representatives of the said United Company at that Presidency to summon before them or before any person or persons resident near Verapoly aforesaid to be by them named and appointed for the purpose the person or persons in receipt or management of the said yearly sum of twohundred and forty Star Pagodas or other the person or persons having the disposal or appropriation thereof or in any other way concerned in any matter or thing relating to the said Institution and Seminary and then and there in the presence of the party or parties complained of or on his or their being summoned to attend and making default to hear the allegations and evidence of the parties attending and if the said Governor in Council of Fort Saint George or other the Agents or representatives of the said United Company upon hearing such allegations or on a report thereof made by the person or persons so to be named and appointed for the purpose of the enquiry shall see proper to discontinue the payment of the said yearly sum into the hands of any person or persons who shall appear to have misapplied or abused the trusts and purposes to which the same ought to be applied then it shall and may be lawful for the Governor in Council of Fort Saint George aforesaid to do until another proper person or other proper persons shall have been duly appointed to supply the place or places of him or them who may have so misapplied or abused the trusts and purposes to which the said yearly sum ought to have been applied in witness whereof the Honorable Sir Georgr Hilaro Barlow Baronet and Knight of the Bath Governor and President of the Council of the said Presidency of Fort Saint George William Petrie Thomas Oakes and James Henry Casamayor Esquires three others of the members of the said Council and composing

the government of Fort Saint George have for and on behalf of the said United Company set their hands and caused their common seal of the said United Company to be affixed to one part hereof to remain with the said Fre. Raymondo and his successors and the said Fre. Raymondo hath set his hand and seal to one other part hereof to remain with the Governor in Council of the said Presidency of Fort Saint George the day and year first before written.

Signed sealed and delivered (Sign):
(Where no stampt paper is to be had) "G.H. Barlow
in the presence of: ----------"Oakes
"Ja. H. Casamayor

Nalcanar Ch ... to Govt.
W..... to Govt. L.S

Appendix VII

Colonel Macaulay's letter to Msgr. Raimond (on November 17, 1808)[1]

To

The Very Reverend the Bishop of Syria and Apostolical Vicar General of Malabar and the Vicar of the Catholic Institution of the Carmelite Propoganda Mission at Verapoli

Very Reverend

I have the honor to inform you that I have received orders to pay when due from my Treasury the amount of annual interest payable on the loan of 3,000 Star Pagodas made by you to the Honorable Company on account of the Catholic Institution of Verapoli and other charitable purposes.

2. Having received from you a special communication on the mode resolved on by you of appropriating this interest so that it may not at any future period be diverted from the objects for which the principal sum has been now invested and sunk - and having been requested by you to place the same upon record that it may remain as a guide in secula seculorum in all ages to come-

I do therefore on behalf of the British Government comply with your request, as that Government is of course only desirous of securing to you the means of alloting and appropriating this charitable fund in the mode that shall appear to you best adapted to fulfill the objects aimed at.

3. With this view therefore it is now stated and declared upon the ground of your suggestion that as the loan is made by and for the Carmelite Propaganda Mission that the annual interest accuring thereon shall be applied in manner following viz:-

[1] ACO, *Collegio Seminarii 3*, 21v-23r (enclosure 2 of Zaleski to Ledochowski on June 1, 1894).

4. The whole of the annual interest from this loan to be at the disposition of the pro tempore Bishop and Apostolical Vicar General of Malabar, provides that the said Bishop and Apostolical Vicar General shall be as at present of the Order of barefooted Camelites, and provided also that in no case shall less than one half of the amount of the interest be annually applied for the specific use of the institution of Verapoly - but in case that the Bishop and Apostolic Vicar General belong at any time to some other religious Order than that of (Carmelitani Scalzi) barefooted Carmelites, it is declared that in such event the whole amount of the annual interest receivable from this loan shall devolve on and be appropriated by the Vicar of the Catholic institution of Verapoli for the time being.

5. I have the honor to transmit with authenticated copy of my letter to the Government proposing this loan by which you will observe that the wants of the institution at Verapoly are there recommanded to be first provided for in the allotment of any portion of the annual interest arising from the loan.

Travancore,
17th November 1808

I have the honor to be Very Reverend
Your most obedient faithful humble servant
(Sign:) Macaulay

Appendix VIII

GREGORIUS PP. XVI.

ad perpetuam rei memoriam.[1]

Multa praeclare Romani Pontifices praedecessores nostri pro apostolici muneris debito constituerunt, ut in vastissimis Orientalium Indiarum regionibus catholicae religionis incremento prospicerent. Cum enim ob summam earum regionum ab Apostolica Sede distantiam, ob itinerum longitudinem locorumque difficultates, ardua valde esset tantae illius vineae Domini partis cultura, solicitudinem suam impense Romani Pontifices demostraverunt, ut quidquid pro diversa temporum ratione religioni utile apud illas gentes futurum esse videretur, auctoritate sua sancirent et studiose servandum esse iuberent.

§ 1. Omittimus illam curam commemorare ab Apostolica Sede nunquam neglectam, ut undique sacerdotes excitarentur ad sacri ministerii officia in iis regionibus obeunda: nihil de singulari dicimus adhibita a praedecessoribus nostris facilitate ac benignitate, ut ad non retardandos iis in locis religionis catholicae progressus innumera ferme concesserint, quibus passi sunt, cum iis gentibus remissius agi, quam ut canonum et disciplinae severioris instituta requirebant. Eam tantum hic memorabimus grati animi significationem, quam pro dignitate sua Romani Pontifices erga illos ostenderunt, quos constabat opera sua religioni utiles per ea loca fuisse.

§ 2. Prespicuum huius rei testimonium continet patronatus privilegium fidelissimis Lusitaniae Regibus ab Apostolica Sede tributum, ut dioecesium nonnullarum in iis regionibus Episcopi, eorum nominatione, eligerentur. Cum enim illorum principum pietas ac munificentia multum contulisset, ut in vastissimis illis regionibus episcopatus nonnulli constitui possent, praedecessores nostri, grati animi testificatione eorum merita prosequi cupientes, largiti sunt ut earum dioecesium Episcopos Sedes Apostolica eligeret, quos idoneos illi nominassent. Huius praeterea privilegi concessione, Apostolica Sedes prospexit, ut non diuturna esset sedium illarum episcopalium vacatio, facilius Episcopos ea loca opportunos haberent, et praesulibus ipsis satis congrua praesto essent subsidia, quae eorumdem dignitati convenirent.

[1] *Jus Pontificium V*, 195-198.

Factum est vero temporum vicissitudine, ut hoc, quod diu religioni utile in iis regionibus fuit, in eo statu manere non potuerit, quem praedecessorum nostrorum decreta, in adiunctis rerum longe diversis edita, servendum esse iusserant.

§ 3. Pluries nos, cum adhuc Consilio Christiano Nomini Propagando praeessemus, perpendere rationum gravitatem debuimus, quae demostrabant, regiones illas tam late patentes, quae permagnam vastissimae cis Gangem peninsulae partem constituunt, necessario requirere, ut Apostolica Sedes religioni in iis periclitanti succurreret, et ecclesiastici regiminis formam ea ratione moderaretur, quae obtinendae religionis incolumitati par esse posset. Notum nobis erat, regiones illas dioecesium Cranganorensis, Coccinensis et Meliaporensis seu S. Thomae limitibus comprehendi. Constabat vero nobis, praedecessores nostros fidelissimis Lusitaniae Regibus patronatum in illas dioeceses, et Episcopos nominandi privilegium impertitos esse. Hoc enim continetur literis apostolicis fel. rec. Pauli IV. diei iv. februarii anno MDLVII. quae incipiunt *Pro excellenti*, quibus dioecesim Coccinensem constituit; item Clementis VIII. diei iv. augusti MDC. incipientibus *In supremo*, et Pauli V. diei vi. februarii MDCXVI. incipientibus *Alias postquam* de Cranganorensis archiepiscopatus erectione; ac denique apostolico decreto Pauli V. diei IX. ianuarii MDCVI. quo episcopatus Meliaporensis, seu S. Thomae constitutus est. Non omisimus vel ab eo tempore, ad bonum religionis promovendum, illa omnia conari, quae temporum adiuncta patiebantur.

§ 4. Postquam vero ad D. Petri cathedram licet immerentes evecti fuimus, multo frequentius, et omni gravitate praestantibus monumentis excitati sumus, ut religioni in permagno discrimine apud illas gentes versanti opem afferremus. Haec animo volventes et apostolicae solicitudinis officia cogitantes, adducti idcirco sumus, ut literis apostolicis diei XVIII. aprilis MDCCCXXXIV. incipientibus *Latissimi terrarum tractus*, Vicarium Apostolicum a Sede Apostolica tantum dependentem constitueremus, qui populosam Calcuttae urbem eiusque politicam praefecturam subiectam haberet. Quoniam vero reperti sunt, qui Vicarii Apostolici a nobis instituti iurisdictioni resisterent, et apostolicis nostris literis non obtemperandum esse contenderent, eo quod in illis, expressa mentione facta, derogatum non esset iis, quae Paulus V. die IX. ianuarii MDCVI. de Episcopi Meliaporensis, seu S. Thomae iurisdctionis finibus decreverat, nos alio brevi apostolico diei iv. augusti MDCCCXXXV. cuius initium est *Commissi nobis*, omnem hunc dissidii praetextum reiecimus et plura declaravimus, quae ad stabilius firmandam Vicarii Apostolici Bengalensis auctoritatem poterant pertinere. Eadem de causa factum est, ut alium Vicarium Apostolicum Madraspatani, literis diei xxv, aprilis MDCCCXXXIV. incipientibus *Ex debito pastoralis*, instituendum esse duxerimus. Haec quoque ratio fuit cur die XXIII. dec. MDCCCXXXVI. aliud breve apostolicum incipiens *Ex munere pastoralis* ediderimus, quo vastissimam insulam Ceylan Vicario Apostolico a nobis instituto gubernandam commisimus. Hac denique ratione factum est, ut prospicere cupientes religionis necessitati apud illas gentes, quae peninsulae partem incolunt, quae

ad Orientem montium Gates vergit et a flumine Chovery ad promontorium usque Comorinum protenditur, universum illum regionum tractum, qui regna Madurae, Tanjorii, Moravea et Misorii comprehendit, per nostram Congregationem de Propaganda Fide die iii. iunii MDCCCXXXVII. venn. fratris Clementis Episcopi Drusiparensis, in Ora Coromandelica Vicarii Apostolici, provisoria ratione, et quoad aliter a S. Sede decretum fuerit, curae et iurisdictioni commiserimus.

§ 5.Intelligimus per haec, quae hactenus a nobis de ea Indiarum regione statuta sunt, in permagna peninsulae parte religionis utilitati consultum esse. Sed praeter illa loca, quae Vicariis Apostolicis gubernanda tradita fuerunt, non parvae adhuc supersunt ibi regiones, quarum bono spirituali prospicere tenemur. quaeque inter fines dioecesium Cranganorensis, Coccinesis et Meliaporensis vel Sancti Thomae positae sunt. Scimus, disciplinam ecclesiasticam, populi mores, fidem catholicam, iis in locis, quae iamdiu pastore carent, magnum detrimentum accepisse, notumque nobis est, praetextu defendendi ac conservandi iura dioecesium illarum plures abuti, ut Vicariis Apostolicis, quos Sedes Apostolica constituit, resistant, eorum auctoritatem oppugnent et schisma perniciosum excitare conentur. Plane sentimus, nos, ex officio, quod Deus nobis in D. Petri successione commisit, omnino teneri, ut Ecclesiae curam in dissita etiam qualibet orbis partegeramus, eaque decernamus, quae ad religionem ubique iuvandam conducere posse videmus. Communicato igitur cosilio de tam gravi re cum venn. fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus negotiis Propagandae Fidei praepositis, eorumdem sententia probata, ac matura totius negotii consideratione a nobis instituta, apostolicae potestatis plenitudine, haec decernenda esse iudicavimus. Videlicet, provisoria ratione et quoad Sedes Apostolica nihil aliud novi statuerit, decernimus, regiones eas omnes, quae dioecesis Meliaporenesis seu S. Thomae limitibus continentur, quaeque hactenus nulli Vicario Apostolico commissae sunt, Vicariatui Apostolico Madraspatano uniendas esse, et iurisdictionem atque auctoritatem totam ecclesiasticam et spiritualem in eas regiones ad ven. fratrem Danielem Episcopum Salditanum, Vicarium Apostolicum Madraspatani, eiusque successores pertinere. De regionibus vero, quae limitibus dioecesis Cranganorensis et Coccinensis continentur, et quae nulli Vicario Apostolico hactenus traditae sunt, eadem ratione iubemus, illas Vicariatui Apostolico in Malabarica regione instituto, cuius sedes in oppido Verapoli est, uniri debere, et iurisdictionem atque auctoritatem totam ecclesiasticam ac spiritualem in eas regiones ad venerabilem fratrem Franciscum Xaverium Episcopum Amathensem, Vicarium Apostolicum Verapoli commorantem, eiusque successores spectare. Atque ut Malacensis quoque regio trans Gangem apostolicae nostrae solicitudinis fructus accipiat, et religionis incolumitati atque incremento in ea regione consulamus, universam regionem illam venerabilis fratris Friderici Cao Episcopi Zamensis, Vicarii Apostolici Avani et Peguensis, iurisdictioni, eadem provisoria ratione, subiicimus.

§ 6. Declaramus, in earum regionem ecclesiastico ac spirituali regimine, Vicarios Apostolicos memoratos, a nobis et ab Apostolica tantum Sede immediate dependere,

eos solos tamquam veros regionum illarum Ordinarios ab omnibus habendos esse, eiusque omnes obtemperare debere, et ab illis ecclesasticam iurisdictionem ac facultates accipere. Derogamus propterea literis apostolicis superius recensitis praedecessorum nostrorum de dioecesium Cranganorensis, Coccinensis et Meliaporensis seu S. Thomae erectione atque limitibus, itemque illis a Paulo IV. editis die iv. februarii MDLVII. incipientibus *Pro excellenti*, de episcopatus Malacensis erectione, et praeterea derogamus etiam literis apostolicis fel. rec. praedecessoris nostri Pauli IV dici iv. februarii MDLVII. incipientibus *Etsi Sancta*, de Archiepiscopatus Goani erectione, ita, ut nullam iurisdictionem, quocumque titulo, etiam speciali mentione digno, in regionibus, de quibus agitur, Archiepiscopus Goanus in posterum posit exercere.

§ 7. His ista ratione statutis, videmur omnino nos religionis opportuno regimini per eas regiones prospexisse, ac certe speramus futurum, ut, Deo optimo maximo consilium a nobis initum benedicente, haec ad Ecclesiae incrementum magnopere conferant: confidimus etiam fore, ut decretis nostris omnes ea obtemperent observantia, quae dignitati nostrae debetur, cui in D. Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Deo potestas tradita est. Non dubitamus denique, eos, qui hactenus voluntati nostrae restiterunt, suscepturos esse saniora consilia et a gravissimo schismatis malo alienos ex animo esse futuros.

§ 8. Praeter illud enim catholici cuiuslibet proprium officium, ut D. Petro per os nostrum loquenti obtemperare teneatur, persuasum habemus, eos intellexisse, quae ad dissidii sui defensionem attullerunt, ipsorum repugnantiam excusare nulla ratione posse. Omnibus enim cognitum est, Apostolicam Sdem in patronatu illo fidelissimis Lusitaniae Regibus concedendo, nunquam voluisse impedimentum sibi ipsi inducere, quominus religioni in regionibus illis provideret, et non posset ea statuere, quae, pro temporum necessitate, populi christiani salus fuisset postulatura.

§ 9. Putamus, eos quoque videre, quantopere diversis temporibus et a praesenti rerum statu distinctis, privilegium illud concessum servatumque fuerit: existimamus illos etiam sentire, regiones eas, ad quarum bonum procurandum mentem nostram convertimus, non amplius veteri politico regimini subesse, quo Lusitanis Regibus facile erat in iis regionibus patronatum exercere, sed illas in potentissimi Regis ditionem devenisse, cuius gubernii forma atque instituta hoc minime passura esse, nobis exploratum est. Recordamur tandem, Romanos Pontifices praedecessores nostros, non obstante patronatus concessione, ex dioecesibus eo privilegio comprehensis, provincias seperandas aliquando, Vicariatus Apostolicos, provincias illas complectentes, constituendos esse pro religionis utilitate iure decrevisse: quare confidimus, eos, qui dissidere hactenus non dubitarunt, facile perspecturos, cavendum sibi esse, ne decretis nostris, in praesenti rerum conditione latis, patronatus praetextu repugnantes, aperte ostendant, se dissidi sui nullam, nisi inobedientis animi rationem afferre posse.

§ 10. Decernentes has praesentes literas semper firmas, validas et efficaces existere ac fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, ac illis, ad quos spectat et spectabit, hoc futurisque temporibus, plenissime suffragari. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscat. die xxiv. apr. MDCCCXXXVIII. pontificatus nostri anno viii.

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